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Trades Union Congress, —1908.—

FORTY-FIRST

Published by
Authority of the
Congress and the
Parliamentary
Committee.

Reported by
H. Whitehorn,
Special Notetaker
to Congress.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The Mechanics' Institution,
NOTTINGHAM.

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General Secretary.

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CO-OPERATIVE UNION LIMITED.

2, NICHOLAS CROFT, HIGH STREET, MANCHESTER.

RULES FOR CONDUCT OF JOINT COMMITTEE OF TRADE UNIONISTS AND CO-OPERATORS.

1. That there be a joint committee consisting of four representatives from the Trades Union Parliamentary Committee and four representatives from the Co-operative Union.
2. That the duty of this committee shall be to make full inquiry into all disputes arising between co-operative societies and their employees.
3. That the committee, on hearing of any such dispute, shall communicate with the parties thereto, and offer their services as arbitrators.
4. That, in the event of the offer of the committee being declined, they shall have power, on their own initiative, to make all necessary inquiry, if in their discretion such action be deemed justifiable.
5. That the committee shall make a report of the result of their inquiry:—
(a) To the parties to the dispute; (b) To the respective Congresses.
It shall be understood that when the committee take action on their own initiative their decision shall be considered as binding on either party.
6. That the joint committee shall make an annual report to each Congress. The report shall contain particulars relating to the number, nature, and result of each dispute inquired into during the year.
7. That the committee be called together in the month of October in each year to arrange the order of business for the next twelve months.
8. That the services of this committee to be made as follows:—
To the Congress of the Unionists—to the secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress;
To any co-operative society—to the secretary of the Co-operative Union.

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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL

TRADES UNION CONGRESS

HELD IN THE

MECHANICS' INSTITUTION,
NOTTINGHAM,

ON

September 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th, 1908.

Edited by W. C. STEADMAN, M.P., General Secretary.

Reported by HARRY WHITEHORN, Special Notetaker to Congress.

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AND AT MANCHESTER AND NEWCASTLE,

1908.

OFFICERS

OF THE

Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee.

Chairman :

SHACKLETON, D. J., M.P. - - Northern Counties Amalgamated Association of Weavers.

Vice-Chairman :

HASLAM, J., M.P. - - - - - Miners' Federation,

Treasurer :

DAVIS, W. J., J.P. - - - - - National Brassworkers.

Secretary :

STEADMAN, W. C., M.P. - - - - - Barge Builders.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

GROUP 1.—BOILERMAKERS AND IRON AND STEEL SHIPBUILDERS.

MR. D. C. CUMMINGS, J.P. (Boilermakers and Shipbuilders).

GROUP 2.—BUILDING TRADES.

MR. F. CHANDLER, J.P. (Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners).

GROUP 3.—COTTON OPERATIVES.

MR. W. MULLIN, J.P. (Card and Blowing Room Operatives).

GROUP 4.—DOCK LABOURERS, STEVEDORES, CRANEMAN, ENGINEMEN, ETC.

MR. T. WATSON (National Federation of Enginemen and Stokers).

GROUP 5.—GASWORKERS AND GENERAL LABOURERS.

MR. W. THORNE, M.P. (Gasworkers and General Labourers).

GROUP 6.—METAL WORKERS.

MR. W. J. DAVIS, J.P. (Amalgamated Brassworkers).

GROUP 7.—MINERS.

MR. J. HASLAM, M.P. (Miners' Federation).

GROUP 8.—PRINTING AND PAPER TRADES.

MR. C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P. (London Society of Compositors).

GROUP 9.—RAILWAY SERVANTS.

MR. R. BELL, M.P. (Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants).

GROUP 10.—WEAVERS.

MR. D. J. SHACKLETON, M.P. (Northern Counties Weavers).

GROUP 11.—MISCELLANEOUS TRADES.

MR. A. WILKIE, M.P. (Associated Shipwrights).

MR. J. B. WILLIAMS (Musicians' Union).

MR. W. MOSSES (United Patternmakers).

MR. J. A. SEDDON, M.P. (Shop Assistants, etc.).

MR. H. GOSLING (Watermen and Lightermen).

MR. M. ARRANDALE, J.P. (United Machine Workers).

OFFICES :

Effingham House, Arundel Street, Strand, London, W.C.

September, 1908.

OBJECTS OF TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

1. To watch all legislation affecting labour.
2. To initiate such legislation as Congress may direct.
3. To arrange Programme for Congress from Resolutions sent from Trades.
4. To verify all Delegates' Credentials.
5. To arrange for the meeting of Congress.
6. To ballot for position and order of the Resolutions.
7. To transact the business between each Congress.

LIST OF DELEGATES TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR CONVENTIONS.

Dates.	Place.	Delegates.	Trades Represented.
1894	Denver	J. Burns, M.P.	Engineers.
		D. Holmes, J.P.	Weavers.
1895	New York	E. Cowey	Miners.
		J. Mawdsley, J.P.	Spinners.
1896	Cincinnati	S. Woods, M.P.	Miners.
		J. Mallinson	Shoe Makers.
1897	Nashville	J. H. Wilson, M.P.	Sailors and Firemen.
		E. Harford	Railway Servants.
1898	Kansas City	W. Inskip, J.P.	Boot and Shoe Makers..
		W. Thorne	Gasworkers.
1899	Detroit	J. Haslam, J.P.	Miners.
		A. Wilkie	Shipwrights.
1900	Louisville	J. Weir	Miners.
		P. Curran	Gasworkers.
1901	Seranton	B. Tillett	Dockers, etc.
		F. Chandler, J.P.	Carpenters and Joiners.
1902	New Orleans	E. Edwards, J.P.	Miners.
		M. Arrandale, J.P.	Machine Workers.
1903	Boston	Mullin, W., J.P.	Card Room Operatives.
		O'Grady, J.	Furnishing Trades.
1904	San Francisco	Abraham, W., M.P. ..	Miners' Federation.
		Wignall, J.	Dock, Riverside, etc., Workers.
1905	Pittsburg	W. Mosses	United Patternmakers.
		D. Gilmour	Miners' Federation.
1906	Minneapolis	A. Gee	Weavers & Textile Wkrs.
		J. N. Bell, J.P.	Union of Labour.
1907	Norfolk	D. J. Shackleton, M.P..	Amalgamated Weavers.
		J. Hodge, M.P.	British Steel Smelters.
1908	Denver	A. H. Gill, M.P.	Cotton Spinners' Amal.
		J. Wadsworth	Miners' Federation.

DELEGATES FROM AMERICA TO TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Dates.	Place.	Delegates.
1894	Norwich	J. Lloyd.
1895	Cardiff	S. Gompers and P. J. McQuire.
1896	Edinburgh	J. Sullivan and A. Strasser.
1897	Birmingham	M. Fox and G. McNeil.
1898	Bristol	J. Duncan and H. Lloyd.
1899	Plymouth	J. O'Connell and T. J. Tracey.
1900	Huddersfield	J. M. Hunter and S. J. Kent.
1901	Swansea	T. J. Keefe and E. F. O'Rourke.
1902	London	H. Blackmore and P. Dolan.
1903	Leicester	Max Hayes and Martin Lawler.
1904	Leeds	W. D. Ryan and Dennis Driscoll.
1905	Hanley	J. A. Moffitt and J. Wood.
1906	Liverpool	F. K. Foster and J. Wilson.
1907	Bath	J. T. Dempsey and W. E. Klapetzky.
1908	Nottingham	A. Feruseth and J. J. Creamer.

Lond. Sch. Econ. & Polsci Ex 1908

Names and Addresses of Delegates and Secretaries attending the NOTTINGHAM CONGRESS, 1908, the Names of the Societies and Number of Members which they represent, the amounts paid since September, 1907, towards the expenses of the Parliamentary Committee, and the amount of Delegates' Fees.

NAME OF SOCIETY.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Members.	Amount of Subscription.	SECRETARY.	Amount of Delegates' Fees.	DELEGATES AND ADDRESSES.
			£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Actors' Union.....	1	..	1 10 0	Kenneth Blackmore, 49, Bedford St., Strand, W.C.	0 10 0	K. Blackmore (Secretary).
Anchorsmiths, Amalgamated	1	120	1 10 0	T. Stoth, Unity Villa, Cradley Heath, Staffs.	0 10 0	J. F. Copestake, 92, Chapel Street, Netherton, Dudley.
Assurance Agents, National Union of Life.	1	3000	4 10 0	D. Sheard, 132, Gt. Ancoats Street, Manchester.	0 10 0	D. Sheard (Secretary).
Assurance Agents, National Association of Prudential.	1	3000	4 10 0	David Jones, 76, Tempest Road, Beeston Hill, Leeds.	0 10 0	David Jones (Secretary).
Assurance Agents, Royal Liver, Union.	1	2000	3 0 0	A. E. Kirkpatrick, Mayfield, Bromborough, Cheshire.	0 10 0	A. E. Kirkpatrick (Secretary).
Bakers and Confectioners, Amalgamated Union.	1	5000	7 10 0	John Jenkins, 16, Paddenswick Road, Hammersmith, London, W.	0 10 0	John Jenkins (Secretary).
Bakers and Confectioners, Staff. District Board.	1	400	1 10 0	H. Emery, J.P., 37, George Street, Hanley, Staffs.	0 10 0	H. Emery, J.P. (Secretary).
Bakers and Confectioners, Amal. Union, Nottingham District.	1	160	1 10 0	George Thundercliffe, 30, Hunt St., Nottingham.	0 10 0	George Thundercliffe (Secretary).
Bakers and Confectioners, S. Wales and Mon. Dis., Amal. Union of Barge Builders	1	320	1 10 0	Henry Williams, 8, Turberville Place, Cardiff.	0 10 0	H. Williams (Secretary).
Bedstead Workmen's Association ..	1	400	1 10 0	Thomas H. Challis, 5, Chandos Terrace, Eastcombe Av., Charlton.	0 10 0	Thomas H. Challis, (Secretary).
	1	1888	3 0 0	W. Mills, 17, Stafford Street, Birmingham.	0 10 0	G. Jones, 414, Bolton Road, Small Heath, Birmingham.
Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, etc., National Federation.	3	10000	15 0 0	Alderman P. Walls, Moss Bay, Workington.	2 0 0	(Alderman P. Walls (Secretary). J. Hull, 87, Borough Road, East Middlesbrough. H. Nixon, Frodingham Road, Scunthorpe. J. Flynn, High Street, Cleator Moor.

Bleachers, Dyers and Kindred Trades, National Federation of	8	23311	36	0	0	A. Heaton, Dyers' Club, City Road, Bradford.	4	0	0	Alderman J. Hayhurst, J.P., Trades Hall, Bradford. Arthur Rowe, 44, School Street, Mold Green, Huddersfield. Councillor J. Webster, 81, Higginbottom Road, Macclesfield. F. Boyle, Newfoundpool, Leicester. Councillor Alfred Smalley, 19, Wood St., Botton. T. Ramsden, 14, Bury Road, Tong, Bolton. W. Bromfield, 16, Talbot St., Leek, Staffs. G. W. Mather, 289, Sion Street, Radcliffe, Manchester.
Bleachers', Dyers', Scourers', etc., Federation, Midland Counties.	1	1000	1	10	0	G.A. Kenney, 72, Westbourne Street, Leicester.	0	10	0	A. Glover, 142, Pool Road, Leicester.
Blind, National League of Great Britain.	1	800	1	10	0	J. E. Gregory, Club Union Bldgs., Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.	0	10	0	J. E. Gregory (Secretary).
Bobbin, Carriage, Comb, and Dropper Makers Amalgamated Society	1	471	1	10	0	James Fish, 8, Beckenham Road, Nottingham.	0	10	0	J. Fish (Secretary).
Boilermakers, and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders	8	53000	79	10	0	D. C. Cummings, J.P., Lifton House, Eslington Rd., Newcastle-on-Tyne	4	0	0	{ D. C. Cummings, J.P. (Secretary). J. Mason, 59, Bangor Road, Leith. G. Ross, 3, Argyle Street, Port Glasgow. R. Fitzpatrick, 22, Monckton Terrace, Jarrow. M. Flanagan, 91, Russell St., Middlesbro'. D. Collins, 129, Kelly Road, Canning Town, London, E. G. M. Longbottom, 5, Longroyd Cres., Burton Road, Leeds. T. Hewitt, 10, Witton Villas, Northwich.
Bookbinders and Machine Rulers, Consolidated Union.	2	4000	6	0	0	J. Kelly, 9, Independent Buildings, Fargate, Sheffield.	1	0	0	{ J. Kelly (Secretary). A. T. Sutton, 15, Roslyn Place, St. Margaret's Road, Bradford.
Bookbinders, London Consolidated Society of Journeymen.	1	1242	3	0	0	W. Coffey, 1, Gough Square, Fleet Street, London, E.C.	0	10	0	W. Coffey (Secretary).
Bookbinders' (Vellum Account) Society.	1	640	1	10	0	A. Goodhew, 16, Devonshire Square, London, E.C.	0	10	0	F. W. Welch, 32, Hanover Gardens, Kennington, S.E.
Boot and Shoe Makers, Amalgamated Society of.	2	3000	4	10	0	Kenneth McCrae, 7, Cartwright Gardens, London, W.C.	1	0	0	{ K. McCrae (Secretary). H. Foley, 43, St. Stephen Street, Salford.

NAME OF SOCIETY.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Members.	Amount of Subscription. £ s. d.	SECRETARY.	Amount of Delegates' Fees. £ s. d.	DELEGATES AND ADDRESSES.
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union of	13	31183	48 0 0	W. B. Hornidge, J.P., Boot and Shoe Trades Hall, St. James' Street, Leicester.	6 10 0	W. B. Hornidge, J.P., Secretary. Councillor C. Freak, 21, College Avenue, Leicester. G. Welsh, 42, MacFarlane Street, Glasgow. A. Bannister, 4, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds. C. Biggs, Trade Hall, St. James' Street, Leicester. T. Orton, Trade Hall, St. James' Street, Leicester. J. Wheeler, Trade Hall, St. James' Street, Leicester. Councillor H. Simmons, 151, Marston Road, Stafford. Councillor J. Gribble, 137, Wellington Road, Northampton. Alderman E. L. Poulton, 107, Overstone Road, Northampton. T. O'Grady, 33, Goldsmith Row, Hackney Road, London. E. Holloway, 34, Wilson Street, Bristol. Councillor W. Warner, 59, Stockwell Head, Hincley.
Brassworkers and Metal Mechanics, National Society of Amalgamated.	4	9000	13 10 0	W. J. Davis, J.P., 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.	2 0 0	W. J. Davis, J.P. (Secretary). W. C. McStocker, 54, Henley St., Camp Hill, Birmingham. J. Ramsden, 11, Potter's Hill, Aston. Stanley Cross, 126, Rosetta Road, New Basford, Nottingham.
Brassfounders, Turners, Copper-smiths, etc., Union, Journeymen	4	7000	10 10 0	T. Jeffers, J.P., Bank Chambers, 2, Moss Street, Liverpool.	2 0 0	Thos. Jeffers, J.P. (Secretary). I. Wile, 47, Union Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne. R. Thomas, 3, Aviemore Road, Liverpool. J. Whitehead, 36, Main Street, Gorbals, Glasgow.

Bricklayers' Society, Operative	3	30000	45	0	0	J. Batchelor, 58, Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E.	1	10	0	{ Frank Drummond, 58, Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E. David Lockley, 58, Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E. T. Welsh, 58, Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E.
Bricklayers, Manchester Unity of Operative.	2	3000	4	10	0	G. H. Clarke, 50, George Street West, Stockport.	1	0	0	{ R. Newstead, 25, Albany Road, Beech Avenue, Nottingham. W. Vernon, 68, Cherry Tree Lane, Great Moor, Stockport.
Brushmakers, United Society of ..	1	..	1	10	0	S. G. Porter, 49, Shrubland Road, London, N.E.	0	10	0	..
Cab Drivers' Trade Union, London	..	..	1	10	0	F. Hill, 39, Gerrard Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.	..	..	..	..
Cabinet Makers, Amal. Union of ..	1	3000	4	10	0	F. Smith, 43, Empress Road, Kensington, Liverpool.	0	10	0	T. Goddard, 59, Robin Hood's Chase, Nottingham.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Amalgamated Association of	3	36000	54	0	0	W. Mullin, J.P., 2a, Hodson's Court, Corporation Street, Manchester.	1	10	0	{ W. Mullin, J.P. (Secretary). M. B. Farr, J.P., Breeze Hill, Mossley. T. Settle, 2, Church Street, Lees, near Oldham.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, S.E. Lancs.	2	4500	..	..	..	W. H. Carr, 28, Delamere Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.	1	0	0	{ J. E. Hopwood, 28, Delamere St., Ashton. J. Hodgson, 7, Albert Street, Dukinfield.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, North-East Lancs.	1	1420	..	..	..	A. Eidsforth, Post Office Chambers, Church Street, Accrington.	0	10	0	{ A. Eidsforth (Secretary). G. Butler.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Bolton District.	2	9500	..	..	..	Joseph Edge, J.P., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	1	0	0	{ G. Butler. Albert Edge.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Heywood.	1	1500	..	..	..	W. Schofield, Trades Hall, Heywood	0	10	0	W. Schofield (Secretary).
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Hyde and District.	1	2061	..	..	..	Councillor Walter Gee, 144, George Street, Hyde.	0	10	0	Councillor Walter Gee (Secretary). J. Crinion, 108, Union Street, Oldham.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Oldham.	3	..	..	..	..	M. Connolly, 108, Union Street, Oldham.	1	10	0	{ P. Mannion, 39, Siddall Street, Oldham. J. J. Howarth, 217, Union Building, New Hey, near Rochdale.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Stockport and District.	1	..	..	..	..	F. Parker, 11, Wellington Street, Stockport.	0	10	0	{ F. Parker (Secretary). M. Carmody (Secretary).
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Wigan and District.	1	..	..	..	..	M. Carmody, 22, Caroline Street, Wigan.	0	10	0	..
Carmen's Trade Union, London....	2	5950	9	0	0	Councillor S. March, 9, Upper North Street, Poplar, E.	1	0	0	{ S. March (Secretary). W. Godfrey, 48, Idenden Cottages, Blackwall Lane, Greenwich, S.E.
Card and Blowing Room Operatives, Bury.	1	1240	..	..	..	J. Duckworth, Textile Hall, Manchester Road, Bury.	0	10	0	{ J. Duckworth (Secretary).

NAME OF SOCIETY.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Members.	Amount of Subscription. £ s. d.	SECRETARY.	Amount of Delegates' Fees. £ s. d.	DELEGATES AND ADDRESSES.
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of.	7	5497	82 10 0	F. Chandler, J.P., 95, Brunswick Street, Manchester.	3 10 0	{ F. Chandler, J.P. (Secretary). J. Swanney, 6, Muirpark Street, Partick, Glasgow. Councillor A. Gould, 5, Laurel Grove, Park Road, Hull. F. Planté, 23, Broadway, Salford, Manchester. A. G. Cameron, 10, Sunbridge Terrace, South Ealing, London. Alderman J. Curle, J.P., 133, Wells Road, Bristol. L. Corrigan, 25, Upper Erne Street, Dublin.
Carpenters and Joiners, General Union.	3	5736	9 0 0	W. Matkin, J.P., 65, Kennington Oval, London, S.E.	1 10 0	{ W. Matkin, J.P. (Secretary). T. Worthington, 33, Woodhouse Lane, Wigan. G. Seamer, 41, Crown Street, Derby.
Curriers, United Soc. of Journeymen	1	850	1 10 0	W. Lilley, 93, Wiesbaden Road, Stoke Newington, London, N.	0 10 0	W. Lilley (Secretary).
Carters, Lurry and Motor Men's Union.	2	3000	4 10 0	J. Parr, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	1 0 0	{ Alfred Grundy, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton. W. Wildman, 7, Plantation Street, Bacup.
Carters' Association, United.....	2	3000	4 10 0	A. Astles, 42, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.	1 0 0	{ A. Astles (Secretary). W. Elston, 2, Willoughby Row, Holbeck, Leeds.
Chain Makers, Block, Association ..	1	420	1 10 0	T. Sitch, Unity Villa, Cradley Heath, Staffs.	0 10 0	William Cooper, 57, New Street, Quarry Bank, Brierley Hill.
Chain Makers' and Strikers' Assoc..	1	1220	3 0 0	T. Sitch, Unity Villa, Cradley Heath, Staffs.	0 10 0	T. Sitch (Secretary).
Cigar Makers' (Female) Protective Union.	1	600	1 10 0	Miss K. Atkin, 49, Vicarage Street, Nottingham.	0 10 0	Miss K. Atkin (Secretary).
Cigar Makers' Mutual Association..	1	1832	3 0 0	B. Cooper, 60, Exmouth Street, Stepney, London.	0 10 0	B. Cooper (Secretary).
Clerks, National Union (London Branch).	1	..	1 10 0	Herbert H. Elvin, Hill Road, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.	0 10 0	Herbert H. Elvin (Secretary).
Cleveland Miners' and Quarrymen's Union.	1	9000	13 10 0	G. B. Hobbs, 17, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-the-Sea.	0 10 0	Harry Deck, 141, Zetland Row, Skinninggrove.

Clothiers' Operatives, Amalgamated Union.	1	2659	4	10	0	J. Young, 32, Cobden Place, Leeds.	0	10	0	J. Young (Secretary).
Clothiers' Cutters, London and Provincial Union,	1	..	1	10	0	A. Brine, 40, Chestnut Avenue, Wood Street, Walthamstow.	0	10	0	A. Brine (Secretary).
Coachmakers, United Kingdom Society of.	2	9000	13	10	0	Chas. Kingate, 118, Portland St., Manchester.	1	0	0	{ Chas. Kingate (Secretary). T. N. Marker, 13, Woodstock Road, Sheffield.
Coachmakers (London & Provincial)	1	486	1	10	0	J. R. Annison, 26, Hartham Road, West Holloway, London, N.	0	10	0	I. T. Spackman, 2, Kingsgate Road, Kilburn, N.W.
Coal Trimmers' Union, Cardiff, Penarth, and Barry.	1	1241	3	0	0	S. Fisher, 39, Mount Stuart Square, Cardiff.	0	10	0	S. Fisher (Secretary).
Cokemen's and Labourers' Association, Durlam.	1	3000	4	10	0	J. Ogg, 3, The Avenue, Durham..	0	10	0	T. Duffy, 5, Murray Street, Stanley, R.S.O., Durham.
Colliery Mechanics' Assoc., Durham	1	4000	6	0	0	J. W. Taylor, M.P., The Avenue, Durham.	0	10	0	J. W. Taylor, M.P. (Secretary).
Colliery Mechanics' Mutual Protection Association, Northumberland.	1	1000	1	10	0	J. Batey, 16, Gladstone Street, Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	0	10	0	J. Batey (Secretary).
Compositors, London Society of....	4	13000	19	10	0	T. E. Naylor, 7-9, St. Bride Street, London, E.C.	2	0	0	{ T. E. Naylor (Secretary). C. W. Bowerman, M.P., 7-9, St. Bride Street, London, E.C. C. F. Davis, 42, Derinton Road, Tooting, London, S.W. H. W. Hobart, Sylvan Villa, Ashford, Middlesex.
Co-operative Employés, Amalgamated Union of.	3	22000	33	0	0	A. Hewitt, Co-operative News Bldg., Long Millgate, Manchester.	1	10	0	{ A. Hewitt (Secretary). H. Wigginton, 17, Molineux Street, Derby. T. Littler, 17, Beech Avenue, Nottingham.
Coopers of Great Britain and Ireland, Mutual Assoc. of Journeymen.	2	4445	7	10	0	J. Shankie, 87, Prince Edward Street, Crosshills, Glasgow.	1	0	0	{ G. Neale, 13, Ridgway St., Nottingham. A. J. Spiller, 7, Dean St., St. Paul's, Bristol.
Coppersmiths, London and Provincial Society.	1	607	1	10	0	G. T. Rick, 2, Etchingam Road, Stratford, E.	0	10	0	{ J. H. Cole, 35, Merritt Road, Brockley, Kent.
Dock Labourers, National Union of	6	12000	18	0	0	J. Sexton, 46, Hanover Street, Liverpool.	3	0	0	{ J. Sexton (Secretary). F. Kilkelly. M. Reid. A. Smith. J. Wood. T. Hutchcroft.

NAME OF SOCIETY.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Members.	Amount of Subscription. £ s. d.	SECRETARY.	Amount of Delegates' Fees. £ s. d.	DELEGATES AND ADDRESSES.
Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union.	7	14000	21 0 0	B. Tilleti, 425, Mile End Road, London, E.	3 10 0	{ B. Tilleti (Secretary). H. Orbell, 425, Mile End Road, London, E. J. Screen, 32, Alma Street, Newport, Mon. R. Connop, 4, Stamford Road, Lydney Glos. Councillor F. Foster, 11, West Lane, Bermondsey. E. Mayo, 88, Stapleton Road, Eastville, Bristol. D. Bonham, 63, Llangyfelach Road, Brynnyfryd, Swansea.
Drillers and Hole Cutters, Amalgamated.	1	950	1 10 0	F. Hall, 13, Stranton Place, West Hartlepool.	0 10 0	F. Hall (Secretary).
Dyers' Association, Nottingham	1	1000	1 10 0	A. Duke, King's Arms, Woolpack Lane, Nottingham.	0 10 0	S. Boot, 19, Ashforth Street, Nottingham.
Electrical Trades Union.....	1	1700	3 0 0	J. Rowan, 26, Cannon Street, Manchester.	0 10 0	J. Rowan (Secretary).
Enginemn's and Boilermn's Protective Association, Nat. Fed.	2	10000	15 0 0	C. Hearse, 19, Mendip View, Radstock, Bath.	1 0 0	{ W. B. Charlton, 26, Western Hill, Durham. J. Smith, Glasshoughton, Castleford. (George Parker, 39, High St., Rotherham. Thomas Watson, 5, Church St., Golborne, Lancs. William H. Proudler, 44, Addison Road, Firth Park, Sheffield. Harper Parker, 39, Ash Tree Terrace, Basford, Stoke-on-Trent. William Forshaw, 93, Hardslaw Street, St. Helens, Lancs. Frank Thurston, 236, High Street, Poplar, London, E. William Hopkins, Lawn Terrace, Pontypriidd.
Enginemn, Stokers, and Kindred Trades, National Federation.	17	38000	57 0 0	G. Parker, 39, High St., Rotherham.	8 10 0	M. Murphy, 3, King Street, Cwm, Mon. W. Thompson, 34, Julien Street, Grimsby. J. Collins, 8, Riby Square, Grimsby. E. Atkinson, 40, Sandhurst St., Liverpool.

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			£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Gasworkers and General Labourers, National Union of	11	39805	60 0 0	W. Thorne, M.P., 172, Pentonville Road, London, N.	5 10 0	W. Thorne, M.P. (Secretary). P. Curran, M.P., 172, Pentonville Road, London, N. J. R. Clynes, M.P., 174, Union Street, Oldham. J. E. Smith, Trades Hall, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds. S. Lakin, 180, Corporation Street, Birmingham. W. Morley, 2, Smithy Wood, Smithies, Barnsley. P. Leonard, 20, Frederic Street, Hartlepool. W. Holland, 50, Alexandra Terrace, Brynmill, Swansea. A. McGregor, 10, Laurel Villas, Estcourt Street, Hull. W. Ryall, 119, Roman Road, East Ham, London, E. J. W. Allen, 73, Merchant Street, Bullwell, Notts.
Glass Blowers' Trade Society, London	1	470	1 10 0	G. Rose, 2, Tavistock Street, Bethnal Green, E.	0 10 0	J. Stokes, 33, Median Road, Clapton.
Glass Bottle Makers' Trade Protection Society.	1	800	1 10 0	Robert Hunter, 48, Kirkland Street, St. Helens, Lanes.	0 10 0	R. Hunter (Secretary).
Hosiery Federation, National.....	2	2250	4 10 0	J. Holmes, Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street, Leicester.	1 0 0	J. Holmes (Secretary).
Hosiery Trimmers' Association, Basford and District	1	255	1 10 0	G. H. Perrons, 18, Mandalay Street, Basford, Notts	0 10 0	J. Bailey, Castle Street, Hinckley. G. H. Perrons (Secretary).
Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain, Associated	3	7000	10 10 0	James Cox, J.P., 6, Mount Pleasant, Darlington.	1 10 0	J. Cox, J.P. (Secretary). J. Davies, 6, Mount Pleasant, Darlington. W. H. Powis, 6, Mount Pleasant, Darlington.
Iron Miners and Quarrymen's Union, Furness.	1	700	1 10 0	W. Lewney, 105, Chapel Street, Dalton-in-Furness.	0 10 0	W. Lewney (Secretary).
Knitters, Rotary Power Framework, Union of.	1	400	1 10 0	J. Thorneloe, J.P., 124, Sneinton Dale, Nottingham.	0 10 0	J. Thorneloe, J.P.

Labour, National Amal. Union of...	5	21000	31	10	0	R. Spence (Corresponding Secretary), 4, Higham Place, Newcastle-on- Tyne.	2	10	0	(R. Spence (Corresponding Secretary). J. N. Bell, J.P., 4, Higham Place, New- castle-on-Tyne. Councillor A. J. Bailey, J.P., 55, Burn- greave Road, Sheffield. G. Greig, 41, Elgin Street, Belfast. J. Burns, 1, Freeman's Place, Gateshead.
Labourers, United Builders.....	1	3000	4	10	0	D. Haggerty, 195, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.	0	10	0	F. Kennedy, 195, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E. (A. Harris (Secretary). P. Donovan, Neptune Street, Rother- hithe, S.E.
Labour Protection League	2	3000	4	10	0	A. Harris, 96, Neptune Street, Rotherhithe, London, S.E.	1	0	0	(H. W. Williams (Secretary). J. Powlesland, 7, Clifton Hill, Swansea. (R. J. Brewer, 38, North Street, Edgware Road, N.W. W. Croft, 12, Glenister Street, North Woolwich.
Labourers' Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Nat. Amal.	2	4000	6	0	0	H. W. Williams, 29, Rutland Street, Swansea.	1	0	0	(Charles Wardle (Secretary). James Burgess, 16, Birkin Avenue, Nottingham. G. Simpson (Secretary).
Labourers' (General) Amalgamated Union.	2	3000	4	10	0	T. Coffey, 45, Aybrook Street, Marylebone, W.	1	0	0	H. Smith, 1, Meanwood Terrace, Servia Grove, Leeds. G. Power (Secretary). (G. D. Kelley, M.P. (Secretary). G. Burton, Norman Road, Thorneycroft, Nottingham. R. Barnes (Secretary).
Lace Makers, Amal. Soc'y Operative	2	3000	4	10	0	Charles Wardle, 16, Pembroke Place, Mount Street, Nottingham.	1	0	0	..
Lace Workers (Male) Auxiliary Soc. of.	1	600	1	10	0	G. Simpson, 75, Bramcote Street, Radford, Nottingham.	0	10	0	..
Lace Pattern Readers, Correctors, etc., Amalgamated Society of.	..	..	1	10	0	H. Bartlett, 21, Gt. Freeman Street, Nottingham.	..	..	..	..
Leather Workers, Amalgamated Society of	1	800	1	10	0	G. J. Lapping, Royal Hotel, Leeds.	0	10	0	..
Leather Trades Federation, Midland	1	500	1	10	0	G. Power, 4, Countess St., Walsall.	0	10	0	..
Lithographic Printers of Gt. Britain and Ireland, Amalgamated.	2	5000	7	10	0	G. D. Kelley, J.P., M.P., 312, Deans- gate, Manchester.	1	0	0	..
Lithographic Artists, Designers, etc., Amalgamated Society of.	1	1000	1	10	0	R. Barnes, 20, Cooper Street, Manchester.	0	10	0	..
Lithographic Stone and Plate Pre- parers, Amalgamated Society.	..	152	1	10	0	J. H. Deller, "Hand and Shears," Cloth Fair, London, E.C.	..	..	..	..
Lock, Latch, and Key-makers' Soc'y, National Amalgamated.	1	400	1	10	0	Wm. Millerchip, J.P., 4, New Road, Willenball, Stafis.	0	10	0	..
Loom Overlookers, General Union	2	6000	9	0	0	J. E. Tattersall, 1, Carill Avenue, Moston, Manchester.	1	0	0	..
Machine Workers' Assoc., United ..	1	5580	9	0	0	M. Arrandale, J.P., 48, Plymouth Grove, Manchester.	0	10	0	..

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Machine and General Labourers' Union, Bolton.	1	1000	£ s. d. 1 10 0	R. Tootill, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	£ s. d. 0 10 0	R. Tootill (Secretary).
Metal Wire and Tube Workers, Nat. Society of.	1	1000	1 10 0	W. J. Davis, 70, Lionel Street, Birmingham.	0 10 0	J. Guthbertson, 1, Tenby Street, Birmingham.
Midland Counties Trades Federation	1	1000	1 10 0	Councillor J. Taylor, J.P., 63, Vicar Street, Dudley.	0 10 0	Councillor J. Taylor, J.P. (Secretary). T. Ashton (Secretary). E. Edwards, M.P., Miners' Hall, Burslem. W. Abraham, M.P., Pentre, Pontypriid, South Wales. J. Wadsworth, M.P., Miners' Office, Barnsley. F. Hall, M.P., Miners' Office, Barnsley. H. Smith, Miners' Office, Barnsley. S. Roebuck, Miners' Office, Barnsley. W. Lunn, Miners' Office, Barnsley. H. Robinson, Miners' Office, Barnsley. R. Merridith, Miners' Office, Barnsley. J. Hoskin, Miners' Office, Barnsley. Thomas Glover, M.P., 108, Prescott Road, St. Helens, Lancashire. S. Walsh, M.P., 8, Swanley Road, Wigan. T. Greenall, J.P., 23, Frazer Street, Pendlebury, Manchester. H. Roughley, J.P., Kay Street, Atherton. J. Butler, West Bank, off Ashton Old Road, Manchester. C. Lamb, Lower Darwen, Lancashire. H. Hamer, Pendlebury, Lancashire. Tom Rothwell, Burnley, Lancashire. M. Lee, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire. G. Fillingham, Sutton Heath, Lancashire. W. Johnson, M.P., Bedworth, Nuneaton. A. Stanley, M.P., West Hill, Hednesford. S. Finney, Burslem, Staffordshire. T. Masell, Tipton, Staffordshire. W. Johnson, Tipton, Staffordshire. F. Woodbine, Tipton, Staffordshire. J. Morris, Tipton, Staffordshire.
Miners' Federation of Gt. Britain ..	109	550000	825 0 0	T. Ashton, J.P., 925, Ashton Old Road, Manchester.	54 10 0	

Miners' Federation of Gt. Britain—
continued.

J. Haslam, M.P., Miners' Office, Chesterfield.
W. E. Harvey, M.P., Miners' Office, Chesterfield.
F. Hall, Miners' Office, Chesterfield.
A. Trueman, Miners' Office, Chesterfield.
W. Chambers, Miners' Office, Chesterfield.
A. Kyte, Miners' Office, Chesterfield.
J. G. Hancock, Miners' Office, New Basford, Nottingham.
A. Stewart, Miners' Office, New Basford, Nottingham.
L. Spencer, Miners' Office, New Basford, Nottingham.
W. Broughton, Miners' Office, New Basford, Nottingham.
T. E. Varnam, Miners' Office, New Basford, Nottingham.
Jesse Woodland, Miners' Office, New Basford, Nottingham.
W. Baugh, Miners' Office, New Basford, Nottingham.
Levi Lovett, High Street, Coalville, near Leicester.
A. Smith, High Street, Coalville, near Leicester.
W. Buckley, Court Street, Woodville, Burton-on-Trent.
E. Hughes, Bradley Road, Wrexham, North Wales.
D. Sides, Bradley Road, Wrexham, North Wales.
A. Peters, Bradley Road, Wrexham, North Wales.
A. Sharp, 77, Senhouse Street, Maryport, Cumberland.
S. H. Whitehouse, Miners' Office, Radstock, near Bath.
G. Gould, Miners' Office, Radstock, near Bath.
A. Young, Miners' Office, Radstock, near Bath.
W. Whitefield, Miners' Office, St. George's, Bristol.
G. Watts, Miners' Office, St. George's,

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Miners' Federation of Gt. Britain— <i>continued.</i>	£ s. d.	(A. Stone, Miners' Office, St. George's, Bristol. R. Smillie, 40, Miller Street, Larkhall, Scotland. D. Gilmour, Miners' Office, Hamilton, Scotland. H. Gallichar, Scotland. P. Johnstone, Scotland. W. Adamson, Scotland. T. Haley, Scotland. J. Robertson, Scotland. J. Sykes, Scotland. J. Tonner, Scotland. M. Smith, Scotland. M. Hynds, Scotland. R. Burt, Scotland. M. Lee, Scotland. J. Christie, Scotland. J. Dunnachie, Scotland. James Brown, Scotland. J. Wilson, Scotland. W. McRobert, Scotland. W. Latham, Scotland. Thos. Richards, M.P. (Miners' Secretary), Ty Gendl, Beaufort, Mon. W. Brace, M.P., South Wales. D. W. Morgan, South Wales. B. Davies, South Wales. J. Thomas, South Wales. T. J. Bevan, South Wales. J. R. Morgan, South Wales. T. Evans, South Wales. J. Davis, South Wales.)

	No.	Year	Members	Address	Notes
Miners' Federation of Gt. Britain— <i>continued.</i>	..	..	..	..	..
W. E. Morgan, South Wales. J. Manning, South Wales. J. Winstone, South Wales. J. D. Morgan, South Wales. J. J. James, South Wales. C. B. Stanton, South Wales. W. Vyce, South Wales. V. Hartshorn, South Wales. A. Onions, South Wales. J. Thomas, South Wales. E. Jones, South Wales. J. Jenkins, South Wales. E. Morrell, South Wales. E. Merrett, South Wales. W. Lee, South Wales. W. Jenkins, South Wales. E. Davies, South Wales. A. Murows, South Wales. W. Straker, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	0 10 0	0 10 0	J. Clark, Secretary.	J. Cairns, Burt Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne. J. Wilson, M.P., Miners' Offices, Durham. J. Johnson, M.P., Miners' Offices, Durham. T. H. Cann, J.P., Miners' Offices, Durham. W. Shaw, Miners' Offices, Durham. J. W. Elliott, Miners' Offices, Durham. J. Herriots, Miners' Offices, Durham. T. Richardson, Miners' Offices, Durham. T. Neville, Miners' Offices, Durham.	Office, Cinderford, R.S.O., Glos.
Miners' Deputies' Mutual Aid Assoc., Durham.	1	1578	1 10 0	J. Clark, Portland House, Ebchester County Durham.	
Miners' Deputies' Mutual Aid Soc., Northumberland.	1	1000	1 10 0	S. Coulthard, 171, Portland Row, Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne.	
Miners' Association, Forest of Dean.	1	2000	3 0 0	R. Bufty, St. John's, Cinderford R.S.O., Glos.	
Moulders, Amalgamated Union (late Plate and Machine Moulders)	..	1000	1 10 0	S. Howard, 148, Roundthorn Road, Oldham.	

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			£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Municipal Employés' Association..	6	12000	18 0 0	R. Davies, 22, Red Lion Square, Holborn, London, W.C.	3 0 0	{ R. Davies (Secretary). A. H. Reynolds, 28, Dover St., Leicester. J. T. Jones, 2, Crescent Grove, Levenshulme, Manchester. P. J. Tovenan, 151, Ayresome Street, Middlesbro'. R. Llewellyn, 7, Fanny Street, Cathays, Cardiff. J. A. Spencer, 8, Cuthbert Road, Kingston, Portsmouth. (J. B. Williams (Secretary). R. Chamberlain, 158, Woodborough Road, Nottingham.
Musicians' Union, Amalgamated ..	2	4000	6 0 0	J. B. Williams, 135, Moss Lane East, Manchester.	1 0 0	J. Ward, M.P. (Secretary).
Navvies, Builders' Labourers, and General Labourers' Union.	1	..	1 10 0	J. Ward, M.P., 129, Elmsleigh Road, East Hill, Wandsworth, London.	0 10 0	F. Kenney, 18, Windmill Lane, Smethwick.
Nut and Bolt Makers, Amalgamated	1	500	1 10 0	Councillor J. Taylor, 63, Vicar Street, Dudley.	0 10 0	T. Edwards, Sneyd Green, Burslem, Staffordshire.
Ovenmen, Kilnmen, etc., Society..	1	500	1 10 0	W. Elkin, 17, Lord Street, Etruria, Staffordshire.	0 10 0	A. Gardner (Secretary). William Dyson (Secretary).
Painters' Society, Scottish	1	3119	6 0 0	A. Gardner, 109, Hope St., Glasgow.	0 10 0	W. Ross (Secretary).
Paper Makers, Amal. Society of ..	1	1000	1 10 0	Wm. Dyson, 7, Station Road, Woodley, Stockport.	0 10 0	{ W. Mosses (Secretary). J. R. Gittings, 82, Windmill Lane, Birmingham.
Paper Mill Workers, Nat. Union of	1	935	1 10 0	W. Ross, 84, Bristol Street, Hulme, Manchester.	0 10 0	{ E. E. Burns (Secretary). J. Reeve, 125, Bobbers Mill Road, Nottingham.
Patternmakers' Association	2	6953	10 10 0	W. Mosses, 32, Street Lane, Roundhay, Leeds.	1 0 0	A. MacLaren (Secretary). G. H. Stuart, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, London, S.W.
Plumbers' Association of Gt. Britain and Ireland, United Operative.	2	12000	18 0 0	E. E. Burns, 181, Clapham Road, London, S.W.	1 0 0	
Postmen's Federation	2	27132	42 0 0	A. MacLaren, 125, Howard Street, Glasgow.	1 0 0	

Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association	2	8748	13 10 0	Wm. Johnson, 8, Pearl Assurance Buildings, Liverpool.	1 0 0	{ Miss M. Slade, Silverburn, Ormskirk, Lancs. S. W. Belderson, 43a, Bedford Road, Clapham Rise, London, S.W. R. R. Millard, 65, Allen Road, Wolverhampton.
Postal Clerks' Association, United Kingdom.	1	6133	10 10 0	E. Lea, 138, Heaton Moor Road, Heaton Moor, Stockport.	0 10 0	{ J. Lovatt (Secretary). S. S. Clowes, 101, Albert Road, Fenton, Staff.
Potters Workers (Male and Female), National Amalgamated Society of	2	6800	10 10 0	J. Lovatt, Pottery Workers' Offices, Hanley, Staffs.	1 0 0	..
Power Loom Carpet Weavers' Mutual Defence and Provident Association	..	..	1 10 0	G. Rawkins, 105, Mill Street, Kidderminster.	..	..
Pressmen, Amalgamated Association	..	..	1 10 0	H. J. Morris, 53, Fetter Lane, London, E.C.	..	..
Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society.	1	2000	3 0 0	H. W. Howes, 45, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.	0 10 0	G. B. Bailey, 34, Roderick Road, Hampstead, N.W.
Printers Warehousemen and Cutters, National Amalgamated Society of.	1	3000	4 10 0	A. Evans, 53, Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, London, E.C.	0 10 0	A. Evans (Secretary).
Printers' Assistants, Operative	1	4000	6 0 0	Edwin S. R. Smith, 26, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.	0 10 0	E. S. R. Smith (Secretary).
Quarrymen's Union, North Wales ..	1	1996	3 0 0	D. R. Daniel, 17, Bridge Street, Carnarvon	0 10 0	R. T. Jones, 17, Bridge Street, Carnarvon.
Railway Clerks' Association.....	2	10000	15 0 0	A. G. Walkden, 337, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.	1 0 0	{ A. G. Walkden (Secretary). A. E. Chandler, Hill Top, Unston, Derbyshire.
Railway Servants, Amalgamated Society of	14	98000	147 0 0	R. Bell, J.P., M.P., 72, Acton Street, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.	7 0 0	{ R. Bell, J.P., M.P. (Secretary). M. O'Neill, 8, Rathbone Buildings, Cork. J. M. Outhbertson, 45, Ashgrove Street, Bridgeton, Glasgow. S. W. Eastwood, 203, Tossion Terrace, Heaton, Newcastle. J. G. Wilson, Norton Junction, near Stockton. G. Thaxton, 22, Paraly Road, Hunslet, T. Humphreys, 380, Sutton Road, St. Helen's, Lancs. C. W. Beardsley, 28, Selby Road, Fir Vale, Sheffield. A. Eatough, Collingham Footway Meadows, Nottingham.

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Railway Servants, Amalgamated Society of— <i>continued</i>	{ W. A. Ryder, 114, Hall Lane, Farnworth Bolton. W. E. Venters, Rob Roy Cottages, Gilpin Street, Peterborough. A. Everson, 10, Geldart Rd., Peckham, S.E. J. H. Thomas, 117, Spott Road, Cardiff. J. W. Burgess, 12, Rennie Street, Canton, Cardiff.
Railway Workers' Union, General..	1	7000	10 10 0	T. Lowth, 27, Green Street, Ardwick, Manchester.	0 10 0	T. Lowth (Secretary).
Railway Wagon and Carriage Builders, etc., Nat. Amal. Society	1	..	1 10 0	A. C. James, 34, Glenroy Street, Roath, Cardiff.	0 10 0	A. C. James (Secretary).
Saddlers, Harness and Collar Makers, etc., Union.	1	700	1 10 0	George Ollier, 32, Greenhill Road, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.	0 10 0	G. Ollier (Secretary).
Saddle and Harness Makers' Trade Protection Society, London.	1	328	1 10 0	J. T. Morrison, 11, Maxwell Road, Fulham, London, S.W.	0 10 0	J. T. Morrison (Secretary).
Sailors' and Firemen's Union, National.	2	8000	12 0 0	J. H. Wilson, M.P., Maritime Hall, Poplar, E.	1 0 0	{ J. H. Wilson, M.P. (Secretary). G. Jackson, 31, Rupert Street, Newport, Mon.
Salt, Alkali Workers, etc., Federation of.	1	1433	3 0 0	W. Gillett, 370, Station Road, Winsford, Cheshire.	0 10 0	W. Gillett (Secretary).
Salt Workers, etc., Northwich	1	950	1 10 0	W. Yarwood, 8, Chapel Street, Wincham, Northwich.	0 10 0	W. Yarwood (Secretary).
Scientific Instrument Makers	1	1000	1 10 0	J. W. Clark, 41, Cowcross Street, London, E.C.	0 10 0	J. W. Clark (Secretary).
Shipconstructive and Shipwrights' Association.	6	19500	30 0 0	Councillor A. Wilkie, M.P., Wilkie Chambers, Eldon Sq., Newcastle-on-Tyne.	3 0 0	{ Councillor A. Wilkie, J.P., M.P. (Secretary) Alderman J. Jenkins, M.P., 101, Romilly Road, Cardiff. John Wilcox, 6, North View, Jarrow-on-Tyne. James Cooper, 13, Ladyburn Buildings, Greenock. Robert Smith, 113, Berridge Road, Sheerness. W. H. Graham, 6, Oberon Street, Belfast.
Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, Nat. Amal. Union of.	2	19000	28 10 0	J. McPherson, 122, Gower Street, London, W.C.	1 0 0	{ J. A. Seddon, M.P., House of Commons. J. Turner, 27, Doughty Street, London, W.C.

Silversmiths and Electro-Plate Operatives.	..	1 10 0	J. Whittle, 97, Newball Street, Birmingham.	..	..
Silversmiths' Trade Protection Society.	..	1 10 0	W. Bagshaw, 8, Times Buildings, Bow Street, Sheffield.	..	..
Smiths and Strikers, U.K. Soc. of Amal.	2	3750	G. Ashcroft, 21, Manor Street, Ardwick Green, Manchester	1 0 0	{ Geo. Ashcroft (Secretary). H. Deaton, 2, Charge Place, Webster Street, Stockton.
Spindle and Flyer Makers, United Operative Society.	1	1000	C. H. Whitehead, 124, Domestic Street, Leeds.	0 10 0	C. H. Whitehead (Secretary).
Spinners, Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton.	5	22794	W. Marsland, J.P., 3, Blossom Street, Manchester.	2 10 0	{ A. H. Gill, M.P., 61, Hampden Street, Bolton. S. Wraggs, 101, Wrigley Head, Failsworth, Manchester. J. Kenyon, 72, Ashworth Street, Rochdale. A. E. Lees, 7, Hilton Street, Bury.
Spinners' Association, Ashton.....	1	..	E. Judson, Spinners' Office, Old Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.	0 10 0	E. Judson (Secretary).
Spinners' Association, Blackburn and District.	1	..	James Johnson, J.P., 66, Copy Nook, Blackburn.	0 10 0	James Johnson, J.P. (Secretary).
Spinners' Association, Hyde and Dist.	1	800	A. Williamson, 29, George Street, Hyde.	0 10 0	A. Williamson (Secretary).
Spinners' Association, Oldham	3	..	T. Ashton, J.P., Spinners' Offices, Rock Street, Oldham.	1 10 0	{ J. Dearden, Spinners' Offices, Rock Street, Oldham. A. Lord, 56, Grimshaw Lane, Middleton Junction. A. Ogden, 8, Clark Brow, Middleton.
Spinners, Provincial Association of Operative Cotton, Bolton.	3	5400	A. H. Gill, M.P., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	1 10 0	{ John Geere, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton. Thomas Gent, 28, High Street, Chorley. Thomas Thorpe, 20, Hamilton Street, Atherton, Lancs.
Steam Engine Makers' Society	2	13000	W. F. Dawtry, Market Buildings, Thomas Street, Manchester.	1 0 0	W. F. Dawtry (Secretary).
Steel Smelters, Mill, Iron and Tin-plate Workers, British.	5	15000	J. Hodge, M.P., Ormond Mansions, Great Ormond St., London, W.C.	2 10 0	{ J. Hodge, M.P. (Secretary). J. T. Macpherson, M.P., Ormond Mansions, Great Ormond Street, W.C. Tom Griffiths, 45, Lewis Road, Neath. W. Dodgson, 44, Stannington Road, Sheffield. J. Walker, 6, Vulcan Lane, Workington.

NAME OF SOCIETY.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Members.	Amount of Subscription.	SECRETARY.	Amount of Delegates' Fees.	DELEGATES AND ADDRESSES.
			£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Steel and Iron Workers of Great Britain, Amalgamated Society of.	3	6000	9 0 0	J. Gavin, 90, Mitchell St., Glasgow	1 10 0	{ J. Gavin (Secretary). Owen Coyle, 90, Mitchell St., Glasgow. H. Traynor, 2, Mitchell Street, Rutherglen, Glasgow.
Steelworkers' National Association.	1	1842	3 0 0	Councillor G. Beadle, J.P., Horwell House, Harrowgate, Darlington.	0 10 0	Councillor G. Beadle, J.P. (Secretary).
Stevedores' (Amalgamated) Labour Protection League.	2	3600	6 0 0	J. Anderson, Maritime Hall, Poplar, E.	1 0 0	{ J. Anderson (Secretary). J. Wood, 19, Alvar Street, Deptford, S.E.
Stonemasons, Society of Operative	2	11941	18 0 0	William Hancock, 28, John Street, Bedford Row, London, W.C.	1 0 0	{ F. Freeman, 19, Westminster Road, Whitehall, Bristol. F. Bower, 71, Merlin Street, Toxteth, Liverpool.
Stove Grate Workers, National Union of.	1	1000	1 10 0	W. Knowles, Effingham Street, Rotherham.	0 10 0	W. Knowles (Secretary).
Tailors, Amalgamated Society of ...	4	14180	22 10 0	T. A. Flynn, 415, Oxford Street, Manchester.	2 0 0	{ T. A. Flynn (Secretary). G. Rowlerson, 57, Samuel St., Woolwich. M. Byrne, 10, Alder Road, Balsall Heath, Birmingham. Frank Maxwell, Starch Lane, Sandiacre. M. Sclare (Secretary).
Tailors' Machinists and Pressers' Trade Union, Leeds.	1	1000	1 10 0	M. Sclare, 6, Gower Street, Leeds.	0 10 0	V. E. Moir (Secretary).
Telephone Employés, National Soc. of	1	1980	3 0 0	V. E. Moir, 4, St. James' Street, Theobald's Road, W.C.	0 10 0	Miss E. Glen (Secretary).
Telephone Operators, Nat. Ass. of..	1	..	1 10 0	Miss E. Glen, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Rd., London, E.C.	0 10 0	W. Johnson (Secretary).
Theatrical Employés, National Association of	1	996	1 10 0	Wm. Johnson, 29, Wallington St., Strand, London, W.C.	0 10 0	Councillor I. H. Gwynne (Secretary).
Tin and Sheet Millmen's Association	1	2150	4 10 0	Councillor I. H. Gwynne, 6, Belle Vue Street, Swansea.	0 10 0	{ J. C. Gordon (Secretary). Charles Hickin, 53, Mason Street, Wolverhampton. J. B. Stevens, People's Hall, Hurst Street, Birmingham.
Tin and Iron Plate, Sheet Metal Workers, National Amalgamated.	3	8000	12 0 0	J. C. Gordon, 41, Clapham Road, London, S.W.	1 10 0	J. Chater, 55, Brooklyn Road, Coventry.
Toolmakers, Amalgamated	1	3680	6 0 0	W. F. Beeston, 38, John Bright Street, Birmingham.	0 10 0	

Tramway and Vehicle Workers, Amalgamated Association of	6	16000	24	0	0	Councillor G. T. Jackson, J.P., 5, Leaf Square, Pendleton, Man- chester	3	0	0	Councillor G. T. Jackson, J.P. (Secretary). C. R. Stewart, 71, Thornton Road, Hud- dersfield. F. Walker, 86, Rushton Road, Bradford. G. H. Pearson, 20, Swallow Mount, Wortley, Leeds. G. Ellis, 5, Manor Street, Sneinton, Nottingham. J. Speakman, 231, New Cross Road, London, S.E. T. Jones, J.P. (Secretary).
Tube Trade Society, Amalgamated	1	375	1	10	0	T. Jones, J.P., 167, Dudley Road, Wolverhampton.	0	10	0	H. Skinner (Secretary). F. W. Booth, 72, Lambert Street, Hull. G. H. Roberts, M.P., 22, Whitehall Road, Norwich. T. Shaw, 76, Heavygate Road, Sheffield. W. Wesson, Friends School, Friar Lane, Nottingham. J. Templeton (Secretary). Lewis Leckie (Secretary). M. Bayley (Secretary). Joe O Gorman, 28, Wellington Street, London, W.C. Councillor H. Gosling, L.C.C. (Secretary). E. A. Spicer, 25, Clement's Road, Ber- mondsey, London, S.E. Councillor E. Gatley (Secretary). A. Burrows (Secretary). J. Cross (Secretary). D. J. Shackleton, M.P., 350, Gt. Western Street, Rusholme, Manchester. E. Gardner, 77, St. George's Rd., Bolton. T. Walkden, 21, Victoria Street, Darwen. R. Hobson, 8, Police St., Great Harwood. J. Leaver, 10, Pemberton St., Blackburn. W. Nabb, Textile Hall, Bury. L. Park, Lancaster Road, Preston. W. Parkinson, 51, Nuttall Street, Accrington.
Typographical Association	5	20000	30	0	0	H. Skinner, Caxton Hall, Salford, Manchester.	2	10	0	
Typographical Association, Scottish	2	4238	7	10	0	J. Templeton, 50, Wellington Street, Glasgow.	1	0	0	
Upholsterers, Amalgamated Union of	1	2000	3	0	0	Lewis Leckie, 45, Lawford Road, Kentish Town, London.	0	10	0	
Variety Artists' Federation	2	4000	6	0	0	M. Bayley, 28, Wellington Street, Strand, London, W.C.	1	0	0	
Watermen, Lightermen, and Watch- men, Amalgamated Society.	2	3000	4	10	0	Councillor H. Gosling, L.C.C., 29, Trinity Sq., Tower Hill, L'don, E.C.	1	0	0	
Watermen and Porters' Association, Upper Mersey.	1	980	1	10	0	Councillor E. Gatley,	0	10	0	
Watermen's Association, River Weaver.	1	390	1	10	0	A. Burrows, 70, Wharton Road, Winsford, Cheshire	0	10	0	
Weavers, Northern Counties Amal- gamated Association.	8	117500	177	0	0	J. Cross, Ewbank Chambers, 17, St. James' Street, Accrington.	4	0	0	
Weavers (Northern Counties Amal- gamated), Accrington and District	1	4335	..			J. R. Emmett, Weavers' Institute, Wellington Street, Accrington.	0	10	0	

NAME OF SOCIETY.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Members.	Amount of Subscription.	SECRETARY.	Amount of Delegates' Fees.	DELEGATES AND ADDRESSES.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Ashton-under-Lyne and District.	2	4200	..	S. T. Goggins, 115, Princess Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.	1 0 0	{ S. T. Goggins (Secretary). I. Bayley, 8, West Street, Dukinfield.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Bacup.	1	1500	..	R. Green, 9, Irwell Terrace, Bacup.	0 10 0	A. Evans, 9, Irwell Terrace, Bacup.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Blackburn and District.	5	16700	..	D. Gouldsbrough, 1, Clayton Street, Blackburn.	2 10 0	{ D. Gouldsbrough (Secretary). J. Brindle, 13, Clinton Street, Blackburn. A. Hollow, 30, Emona Street, Blackburn. W. Wignall, 27, Skiddaw St., Blackburn. J. Cardwell, 35, Herbert St., Blackburn.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Bolton and District.	2	4750	..	W. Mellings, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.	1 0 0	{ George Foster, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton. Ernest Baron, 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Burnley.	3	..	..	F. Thomas, Weavers' Institute, Burnley.	1 10 0	{ R. Pollard, J.P., Weavers' Inst., Burnley. A. Hatley, Weavers' Institute, Burnley. H. Ingham, Weavers' Institute, Burnley.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Bury and Radcliffe District.	2	4963	..	W. Nabb, Textile Operatives' Hall, Manchester Road, Bury.	1 0 0	{ J. Scaife, 3, South Lord Street, Bury. J. T. Fearnley, 3, Bell Lane, Bury.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Blackburn.	2	3200	..	R. B. Dodgson, 160, Cedar Street, Blackburn.	1 0 0	{ W. A. Duckworth, 50, Derby Street, Blackburn. J. Heys, 3, Exeter Street, Blackburn.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Chorley and District.	1	4000	..	W. Mellor, 48, Clifford St., Chorley.	0 10 0	J. Wilson, 91, Brook St., Chorley, Lancs.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Church and Oswaldtwistle.	1	3324	..	J. T. Wolstenholme, Weavers' Institute, Lock Street, Oswaldtwistle.	0 10 0	{ Peter Haworth, 2, Hyndburn Street, Accrington.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Clitheroe	2	2250	..	A. H. Cottam, J.P., Weavers' Inst., Clitheroe.	1 0 0	{ R. Slinger, 4, Union Street, Low Moor, Clitheroe. Councillor R. Parker, 60, Whalley Road, Clitheroe.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Colne and District.	2	..	..	T. Shaw, Weavers' Office, Colne.	1 0 0	{ T. Shaw (Secretary). J. T. Blackburn, Weavers' Office, Colne.

Weavers', Winders', and Warpers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Darwen.	2	8000	..	John Parkington, 25, Victoria St., Darwen.	1 0 0	{ John Parkington (Secretary). Ainsworth Cooper, 21, Victoria Street, Darwen.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Gt. Harwood.	2	3500	..	W. Hesmondhalgh, 2, Railway Terrace, Gt. Harwood.	1 0 0	{ W. Hesmondhalgh (Secretary). Thomas Catterall, 13, Orchard Street, Great Harwood.
Weavers', Winders', etc., (Northern Counties) Association, Heywood.	2	2530	..	J. W. Ogden, 2, Grosvenor Street, Heywood.	1 0 0	{ J. W. Ogden (Secretary). C. Corderley, 2, East View Terrace, Gregge Street, Heywood.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated), Hyde and Hadfield.	2	5700	..	Councillor W. Pope, 27, George St., Hyde.	1 0 0	{ Councillor W. Pope (Secretary). Harold Wood, 5, King Street, Broad- bottom.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Nelson and District.	2	..	..	W. Ward, Weavers' Institute, Nelson	1 0 0	{ William Kendal, Weavers' Institute, Nelson. E. Shorrocks, Weavers' Institute, Nelson.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association. Oldham.	2	4500	..	James Bell, Weavers' Institute, Bartlam Place, Oldham.	1 0 0	{ James Bell (Secretary). Elias Greaves, 20, Thornham Road, High Grompton, O'dham.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Padiham and District.	2	3650	..	R. Hargreaves, Weavers' Institute, Sowerby Street, Padiham.	1 0 0	{ W. Troughton, Weavers' Institute, Sowerby Street, Padiham. W. T. Gee, Weavers' Institute, Sowerby Street, Padiham.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Rossendale.	1	1700	..	J. Farron, 160, Bacup Road, Cloughfold, Rossendale.	0 10 0	Henry Nuttall.
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Sadden.	1	100	..	R. Townend, 13, Strait Lane, Road, near Blackburn.	0 10 0	R. Townend (Secretary).
Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association, Todmorden and District.	1	2952	..	B. Thomas, 24, Han Hill Street, Todmorden.	0 10 0	B. Thomas (Secretary).
Weavers and Textile Workers, (Heavy Woollen) General Union of.	3	4150	7 10 0	Ald. Allen Gee, 13, Quarmby Road, Cliffe End, Huddersfield.	1 10 0	{ Alderman Allen Gee (Secretary). Ben Turner, Weavers' Office, Batley. A. Shaw, 134, Lockwood Road, Hudders- field.
Weavers' and Textile Workers General Union, Bradford.	1	..	1 10 0	T. Brown, 28, Priestman Terrace, Bradford.	0 10 0	Miss Julia Varney, 32, Hampden Street, Bradford.

NAME OF SOCIETY.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Members	Amount of Subscription.	SECRETARY.	Amount of Delegates' Fees.	DELEGATES AND ADDRESSES.
Welsh Artisans' United Association.	..	..	£ s. d. 1 10 0	J. H. John, 27, Gwydr Crescent, Uplands, Swansea.	..	..
Wire Drawers of Great Britain ....	..	..	3 0 0	Alfred Birtles, 44, Woodbank Crescent, Meersbrook Bank, Sheffield.	..	..
Women Workers, National Federation of.	2	3000	4 10 0	Miss Louisa Hodges, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.	1 0 0	{ Louisa Hodges (Secretary). Mary R. Macarthur, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.
Woolcombers (Machine), Bradford and District Association.	1	600	1 10 0	F. Ingham, Albert Buildings, Horton Lane, Bradford.	0 10 0	J. Colwell, 75, Smithy Hill, Wibsey, Bradford.
Wool Sorters, National Union.....	1	1000	1 10 0	T. Grundy, Albert Buildings, Bradford, Yorks.	0 10 0	T. Grundy (Secretary).
TOTALS.	..	..	£ 2665 10 0*		£ 261 0 0*	

*£73 Affiliation Fees and £69 Delegates' Fees received since close of financial year.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

American Federation of Labour	{ Andrew Feruseth, International Seamen's Union. J. J. Creamer, Machinists' International Association.
Labour Party	A. Henderson, M.P.
General Federation of Trade Unions	W. A. Appleton.
Co-operative Union.....	S. Redfern, 33, Rangemoor Street, Burton-on-Trent.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF DELEGATES.

NAMES OF DELEGATES.	DISTRICT.	TRADE UNION REPRESENTED.
Abrahams, W., M.P.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Adamson, W.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Allen, J. W.	Nottingham.....	Gasworkers and General Labourers
Anderson, J.	London.....	Stevedores' Protection League
Arrandale, M., J.P.	Manchester	United Machine Workers
Ashcroft, George	Manchester	Amalgamated Society of Smiths and Strikers of United Kingdom
Ashton, T.	Manchester	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Astles, A.	Manchester	United Carters' Association
Atkin, Miss K.	Nottingham	Female Cigar Makers' Union
Atkinson, R.	Liverpool	Enginemmen and Kindred Trades, National Federation
Bailey, Councillor A. J....	Sheffield	Labour, National Amalgamated Union
Bailey, G. B.	London.....	Printing Machine Managers
Bailey, J.	Hinckley	Hosiery Federation
Baker, Councillor John....	Stockton-on-Tees	Engine, Crane, Boiler, etc., National Amalgamated
Bannister, A.	Leeds.....	Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union
Barnes, Robert	Manchester	Litho. Artists, Designers, etc.
Baron, E.	Bolton and District ..	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
Batey, J.	Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	Colliery Mechanics' Mutual Protection Association
Baugh, W.	Nottinghamshire	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Bayley, I.	Dukinfield	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
Bayly, M.	London	Theatrical Artists' Federation
Beadle, G.	Darlington	Steelworkers' National Association
Beardsley, C. W.	Sheffield	Amal. Society of Railway Servants
Belderson, S. W.	London.....	Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association
Bell, James.....	Oldham	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
Bell, J. N., J.P.	Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	Labour, National Amalgamated Union
Bell, Richard, M.P.	London.....	Amal. Society of Railway Servants
Betteridge, J. W.	Cheltenham.....	Gasworkers, Brickmakers, etc., Amal- gamated Society
Bevan, T. J.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Biggs, C.	Leicester	Boot and Shoe Operatives, Nat. Union
Blackburn, T.	Colne.....	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
Blackmore, Kenneth.....	London.....	Actors' Union
Bonham, D.	Swansea	Dock, Wharf, etc., Workers
Boot, S.	Nottingham.....	Dyers' Association
Booth, F. W.	Hull	Typographical Association
Bower, F.	Liverpool.....	Stonemasons, Operative Society
Bowerman, C. W., M.P. ..	London.....	London Society of Compositors
Boyle, F.	Leicester	Dyers, Bleachers, and Kindred Trades
Brace, W., M.P.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Brewer, R. J.	London.....	Labourers (Gen.), Amalgamated Union
Brindle, J.	Blackburn	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
Brindle, T.	Preston.....	Loom Overlookers, General Union
Briggs, W. H.	Manchester	Amalgamated Society of Farriers
Brine, A.	London.....	London and Prov. Clothiers' Cutters
Bromfield, W.	Leek	Dyers, Bleachers and Kindred Trades
Broughton, W.	Nottingham	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Brown, J.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Buckley, W.	Burton-on-Trent	Miners' Federation of Great Britain

NAMES OF DELEGATES.	DISTRICT.	TRADE UNION REPRESENTED.
Burgess, J.	Nottingham	Lace Makers, Amalgamated Associatio
Burgess, J. W.	Cardiff	Amal. Society of Railway Servants
Burns, E. E.	London	Plumbers' Association of Great Britain
Burns, J.	Gateshead	Labour, National Amalgamated Union
Borrows, A.	Winsford	Watermen's Association, River Weaver
Burt, R.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Butler, George	Bolton	Card and Blowing Room Operatives
Butler, J.	Manchester	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Byrne, M.	Birmingham	Tailors, Amalgamated Society
Cameron, A. G.	London	Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated
Cairns, J.	Northumberland	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Cann, T. H.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Cardwell, J.	Blackburn	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
Carmody, M.	Ashton	Card and Blowing Room Operatives
Carter, J.	Castleford	West Yorkshire Enginemen and Firemen
Catterall, T.	Great Harwood	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amal- gamated) Association
Challis, T. H.	London	Barge Builders
Chambers, W.	Chesterfield	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Chandler, F., J.P.	Manchester	Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners
Chandler, A. E.	Manchester	Railway Clerks' Association
Charlton, W. B.	Durham	Engine and Boilermen's National Federation
Chater, J.	Coventry	Toolmakers' Amalgamated
Christie, J.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Clark, J.	Elcheater	Miners' Deputies, Durham
Clarke, J. W.	London	Scientific Instrument Makers
Clarken, W.	Nottingham	Enginemen and Kindred Trades, National Federation
Clowes, S.	Hanley	Pottery Workers, Male and Female
Clynes, J. R., M.P.	Oldham	Gasworkers and General Labourers
Coffey, W.	London	London Society of Bookbinders
Collins, D.	London	Boiler Makers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders
Collins, J.	Grimsby	Enginemen and Kindred Trades, National Federation
Cole, J. H.	Kent	Coppersmiths, London and Provincial
Colwell, J.	Bradford	Woolcombers (Machine) Association
Connop, R.	Gloucester	Dock, Wharf, etc., Workers
Cooper, A.	Darwen	Weavers, Northern Counties Amalga- mated Association
Cooper, Ben	London	Cigar Makers' Mutual Association
Cooper, J.	Greenock	Associated Shipconstructive and Ship- wrights
Cooper, William	Staffordshire	Block Chainmakers' Association
Copestake, J. F.	Dudley	Anchorsmiths
Corderley, C.	Heywood	Weavers, Northern Counties Association
Corrigan, L.	Dublin	Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated
Coulthard, S.	Northumberland	Durham Deputies' Mutual Aid Asso- ciation
Cox, James, J.P.	Darlington	Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain
Coyle, O.	Glasgow	Steel and Ironworkers
Crinion, J.	Oldham	Card and Blowing Room Operatives.
Cross, Joseph	Accrington	Weavers, Northern Counties Amalga- mated Association
Croft, W.	Woolwich	Labourers' (Gen.) Amalgamated Union
Cross, S.	Nottingham	Brassworkers and Metal Mechanics
Cummings, D. C., J.P. ..	Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	Boilermakers and Shipbuilders
Curle, Alderman J.	Bristol	Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated
Curran, P.	London	Gasworkers and General Labourers
Cuthbertson, J.	Birmingham	Metal, Wire, and Tube Workers, National Society
Cuthbertson, J. M.	Glasgow	Amal. Society of Railway Servants
Dack, H.	Skinningrove	Cleveland Miners and Quarrymen
Davies, B.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain

NAMES OF DELEGATES.	DISTRICT.	TRADE UNION REPRESENTED.
Davies, E.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Davies, R.	London	Municipal Employés' Association
Davis, C. F.	London	London Society of Compositors
Davis, J.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Davis, J.	Darlington	Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain
Davis, W. J., J.P.	Birmingham	Brassworkers and Metal Mechanics
Dawtry, W. F.	Manchester	Steam Engine Makers
Dearden, J.	Oldham	Spinners' Association
Deaton, H.	Stockton	Amalgamated Society of Smiths and Strikers
Dickinson, M. J. ....	.....	Enginemen's National Federation
Dodgson, W.	Sheffield	Steel Smelters, Mill, etc., Workers
Drummond, F.	London	Bricklayers' Operative Society
Duckworth, J.	Bury	Card and Blowing Room Operatives
Duckworth, W. A.	Blackburn	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Duffy, Thomas	Durham	Cokemen and Labourers
Dunnochie, J.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Dyson, William	Stockport	Paper Makers, Amalgamated
Eastwood, J. W.	Newcastle	Amalgamated Society Railway Servants
Eatough, A.	Nottingham	Amalgamated Society Railway Servants
Edge, A.	Bolton	Card and Blowing Room Operatives
Edwards, E., M.P.	Staffordshire	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Edwards, Thomas	Burslem	Ovenmen, Kilmnen, etc.
Eidsforth, A.	Accrington	Card and Blowing Room Operatives
Elliott, J. W.	Durham	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Ellis, G.	Nottingham	Tram and Vehicle Workers
Elston, W.	Leeds	United Carters' Association
Elvin, H. H.	London	Clerks' National Union
Emery, H., J.P.	Hanley	Amalgamated Union of Bakers and Confectioners
Evans, A.	Bacup	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Evans, A.	London	Printers' Warehousemen, Cutters, etc.
Evans, T.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Everson, A.	London	Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants
Farr, M. B., J.P.	Mossley	Card and Blowing-room Operatives
Fearnley, J. T.	Bury and Radcliffe ..	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Fillingham, G.	Sutton Heath	Miners' Federation
Finney, S.	Burslem	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Fish, J.	Nottingham	Bobbin, Carriage, etc., Society
Fisher, Samuel	Cardiff	Coal Trimmers, Cardiff, etc.
Fitzpatrick, R.	Jarrow	Boiler Makers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders
Flanagan, M.	Middlesbrough	Boiler Makers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders
Flynn, J.	Cleator Moor	Blastfurnacemen
Flynn, T. A.	Manchester	Tailors, Amalgamated Society
Foley, H.	Manchester	Amalgamated Society Boot and Shoe Makers
Farshaw, W.	St. Helen's	Enginemen and Kindred Trades, National Federation
Foster, F.	Bermondsey	Dock, Wharf, etc., Workers
Foster, G.	Bolton and District ..	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association [Union
Freak, Councillor C.	Leicester	Boot and Shoe Operatives, National
Freeman, F.	Bristol	Stone Masons, Operative Society
Gallichar, H.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Gardner, A.	Glasgow	Painters, Scottish
Gardner, E.	Bolton	Weavers (N. R. Federation) Association
Gatley, Councillor Ellis ..	Runcorn	Watermen and Porters' Association, Upper Mersey

NAMES OF DELEGATES.	DISTRICT.	TRADE UNION REPRESENTED.
Gavin, J.	Glasgow	Steel and Ironworkers of Great Britain
Gee, Alderman A., J.P. ..	Huddersfield	Weavers and Textile Workers (Heavy Woollen).
Gee, Councillor Walter ..	Hyde	Card and Blowing-room Operatives
George, H.	Birmingham	Gasworkers & Brickmakers, Amal. Soc.
Gill, A. H., M.P.	Bolton	Amalgamated Association of Cotton Spinners
Gillett, W.	Winsford	Salt, Alkali Workers' Federation
Gilmour, D.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Gittings, J. R.	Birmingham	Patternmakers' Association
Glen, Miss E.	London	Telephone Operators
Glover, A.	Leicester	Bleachers, Dyers, etc., Midland Counties
Grover, Thos., M.P.	St. Helens	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Godfrey, Will	Greenwich	Carmen's Trade Union, London
Goggins, S. T.	Ashton-under-Lyne. ..	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Goldsbrough, Doctor.....	Blackburn	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Gordon, J. C.	London.....	Tin and Iron Plate and Sheet Metal Workers
Gosling, Coun. H., L.C.C. ..	London	Watermen, Lightermen, etc.
Gould, Councillor A.	Hull	Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated
Gould, G.	Radstock	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Graham, W. H.	Burnley.	Shipconstructive and Shipwrights
Greaves, E.	Oldham	Weavers' (N.C.A.) Association
Green, J.	Barnsley	Yorkshire County Engine and Motor-men's Protection Association
Greenall, T., J.P.	Pendlebury	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Gregory, J. E.	London.....	League of the Blind
Greig, G.	Belfast	Labour, National Amalgamated Union
Gribble, Councillor J.	Northampton	Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union
Griffiths, T.	Neath	Steel Smelters, Mill, etc., Workers
Grundy, A.	Bolton.....	Carters, Lurrymen, and Motormen
Grundy, T.	Bradford	National Union of Wool Sorters
Gwynne, Councillor Ivor H.	Swansea	Tin and Sheet Millmen
Goddard, T.	Nottingham	Cabinet Makers
Haley, T.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Hall, F., M.P.	Barnsley	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Hall, F.	Chesterfield	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Hall, Fred.	West Hartlepool	Drillers and Hole Cutters
Hamer, H.	Pendlebury	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Hancock, J. G.	Nottinghamshire	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Harvey, W. E., M.P.	Chesterfield.....	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Harris, A.	London.....	Labour Protection League
Hartley, A.	Burnley	Weavers' (N. Counties Amalgamated) Association
Hartshorn, V.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Haslam, J., M.P.	Chesterfield	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Haworth, P.	Accrington	Weavers' (N. Counties Amalgamated) Association
Hayhurst, Alderman J., J.P.	Bradford	Bleachers, Dyers, and Kindred Trades
Hebson, R.	Harwood	Weavers' (N. Counties Amalgamated) Association
Hedges, Miss L.	London	Women Workers' National Federation
Herbert, S.	Barnsley	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Herriotts, J.	Durham	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Hesmondhalgh, W.	Great Harwood	Weavers' (N. Counties Amalgamated) Association
Hewitt, A.	Manchester	Co-operative Employés, Amalgamated Union
Hewitt, T.	Northwich	Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Ship-builders
Heyes, J.	Blackburn	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Hickin, C.	Wolverhampton.....	Tin and Iron Plate and Sheet Metal Workers
Hobart, H. W.	London.....	London Society of Compositors

NAMES OF DELEGATES.	DISTRICT.	TRADE UNION REPRESENTED.
Hodge, J., M.P.....	London.....	Steel Smelters, Mill, Iron, and Tinsplate Workers
Hodgson, J.	Dukinfield	Card and Blowing-room Operatives
Holland, W.	Swansea	Gasworkers and General Labourers
Hollow, A.	Blackburn	Weavers' Association, Blackburn and District
Holloway, E.	Bristol	Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union
Holmes, J.	Leicester	Hosiery Federation
Hopkins, W.	Pontypridd	Enginemmen and Kindred Trades, Nat. Federation
Hopwood, J. E.....	Ashton	Card and Blowing-room Operatives
Hornidge, W. B., J.P....	Leicester	Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union
Hoskins, J.	Barnsley	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
How, J. J.	Rochdale	Card and Blowing-room Operatives
Hughes, E.	Wrexham	Miners' Association, Durham
Mull, John	Middlesbrough	Blast Furnacemen, etc., Federation
Humphreys, T.	St. Helens	Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants
Hunter, R.	St. Helens	Glass Bottle Makers, Lancashire Dist.
Hutchcroft, T.	Liverpool	Dock Labourers, National Union
Hynds, M.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners Federation of Great Britain
Ingham, H.....	Burnley	Weavers', Northern Counties Amalgamated Association
Jackson, Coun. G. T., J.P.	Manchester	Tram and Vehicle Workers
Jackson, G.....	Newport	Sailors' and Firemen's Union
James, A. C.	Cardiff	Railway Wagon and Carriage Builders
James, J. J.....	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Jeffers, T., J.P.....	Liverpool	Brassfounders, Turners, etc., Society Associated Ship Constructive and Shipwrights
Jenkins, Ald. J., J.P., M.P.	Cardiff	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Jenkins, J.	South Wales	Amalgamated Union Bakers and Confectioners
Jenkins, J.	London.....	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Jenkins, W.....	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Johnson, J., M.P.	Durham	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Johnson, J., J.P.....	Blackburn	Cotton Spinners' Amalgamated Association
Johnson, W., M.P.	Bedworth	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Johnson, W.	Staffordshire	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Johnson, W.	London.....	Theatrical Employes
Jones, David	Leeds	Assurance Agents (Prudential)
Jones, E.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Jones, Geo.	Birmingham	Bedstead Workmen's Association
Jones, J. T.....	Manchester	Municipal Employes' Association
Jones, R. T.....	Carnarvon	North Wales Quarrymen's Union
Jones, T., J.P.	Wolverhampton.....	Tube Trade Amalgamated Society
Jones, T.	Treharris.....	Enginemmen and Kindred Trades Federation
Johnstone, P.....	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Judson, E.	Ashton	Cotton Spinners' Amal. Association
Kean, C.	Salford	Engravers to Calico Printers, etc.
Kelley, G. D., J.P., M.P..	Manchester	Lithographic Printers of Great Britain and Ireland
Kelly, James	Leeds	Bookbinders and Machine Rulers
Kendal, W.....	Nelson	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Kennedy, F.	London.....	United Builders' Labourers
Kenney, F.....	Birmingham	Nut and Bolt Makers
Kenyon, John.....	Rochdale	Cotton Spinners, Amalgamated Association
Kilkelly, F.....	Liverpool	Dock Labourers' National Union
Kinggate, Charles	Manchester	Coachmakers of United Kingdom

NAMES OF DELEGATES.	DISTRICT.	TRADE UNION REPRESENTED.
Kirkpatrick, A. E.....	Cheshire	Royal Liver Agents
Knowles, W.	Rotherham	Stove Grate Workers
Kyte, A.	Chesterfield	Miners Federation of Great Britain
Lakin, S.	Birmingham	Gasworkers and General Labourers
Lamb, C.	Lower Darwen	Miners Federation of Great Britain
Latham, W.	Scotland	Miners' Federation
Leaver, J.	Blackburn	Weavers (Northern Counties Federa- tion) Association
Leckie, Lewis.....	London.....	Upholsterers, Amalgamated Union
Lee, Moses	Ashton	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Lee, M.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Lee, W.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Lee, W. T.	Padiham	Weavers', Northern Counties Amal- gamated Association
Lees, A. E.	Bury	Amalgamated Association of Cotton Spinners
Leonard, P.	Hartlepool	Gasworkers and General Labourers
Lewney, William	Dalton-in-Furness....	Iron Miners and Quarrymen's Union
Lilley, W.	London	Carriers, United Society
Littler, T.	Nottingham	Co-operative Employés Union
Llewellyn, R.	Cardiff	Municipal Employés Association
Lockley, D.	London.....	Operative Bricklayers' Society
Longbottom, G. M.	Leeds	Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Ship- builders
Lord, A.	Middleton Junction ..	Spinners' Association
Lovatt, Joseph	Hanley	Pottery Workers (Male and Female)
Lovatt, L.	Coalville	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Lowth, Thos.	Manchester	Railway Workers' Union
Lunn, W.	Barnsley	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Macarthur, Miss M. R....	London.....	Women Workers, National Federation
MacLaren, A.	Glasgow	Postmen's Federation
Macpherson, J. T., M.P. ..	London.....	Steel Smelters, Mill, Iron and Tinplate Workers
Mallalieu, Councillor T. ..	Denton	Felt Hat Makers
Manning, J.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Mannion, P.	Oldham	Card and Blowing-room Operatives
March, Councillor S.	London.....	Carmen's Trade Union, London
Marsland, William, J.P. ..	Manchester	Amalgamated Operative Cotton Spinners
Masell, T.	Staffordshire	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Mason, J.	Leith	Boilermakers and Shipbuilders
Mather, G. W.	Manchester	Dyers, Bleachers, and Kindred Trades
Matkin, William, J.P.	London	General Union Carpenters and Joiners
Maxwell, F.	Sandiacre.....	Tailors. Amalgamated Society
Mayo, E.	Bristol	Dock, Wharf, etc., Workers
McGregor, A.	Hull	Gasworkers and General Labourers
M'Crae, Kenneth	London.....	Boot and Shoe Makers, Amalgamated Society
McRoberts, W.	Scotland	Miners' Federation
McStocker, W. C.	Birmingham	Brassworkers and Metal Mechanics
Millard, R. R.	Wolverhampton	Postal Clerks' Association
Millerchip, William, J.P. ..	Walsall.....	Lock, Latch, and Keymakers
Moir, V. E.	London	Telephone Employés
Moore, G.	Bolton	Enginemmen and Kindred Trades National Federation
Morell, E.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Morgan, D. W.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Morgan, J. D.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Morgan, J. R.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Morgan, W. E.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Morley, W.	Barnsley	Gasworkers and General Labourers
Morris, J.	Staffordshire	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Morrison, J. T.	London.....	Saddle and Harness Makers
Mosses, William	Leeds	Patternmakers' Association
Moyns, A.	Derby	Steam Engine Makers
Mullin, W., J.P.	Manchester	Card and Blowing-room Operatives
Murphy, M.	Monmouthshire	Enginemmen and Kindred Trades National Federation
Murridith, R.	Barnsley	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Murrows, A.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain

NAMES OF DELEGATES.	DISTRICT.	TRADE UNION REPRESENTED.
Nabb, W.....	Bury	Weavers' (Northern Counties Federa- tion) Association
Naylor, T. E.....	London.....	London Society of Compositors
Neale, Geo.....	Nottingham	Coopers of Great Britain and Ireland, Mutual Association
Neville, T.	Durham	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Newstead, R. ....	..	Bricklayers, Manchester Unity
Nicholson, W. E.	Durham	Enginemens' National Federation of Protective Associations.
Nixon, H.	Scunthorpe	Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners' Federa- tion
Nuttall, H.	Rossendale	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amal- gamated) Association
Ogden, A.	Middleton	Spinners' Association
Ogden, J. W.	Heywood	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
O'Gorman, J.	London.....	Variety Artists' Federation
O'Grady, James, M.P.....	London.....	Furnishing Trades Association
O'Grady, T.	London.....	Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union
Ollier, George.....	Manchester	Saddlers, Harness, and Collar Makers
O'Neill, M.	Cork	Amalgamated Society Railway Servants
Onions, A.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Orbell, H.	London.....	Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers
Orton, T.....	Leicester	Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union
Park, L.	Preston.....	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
Parker, Fred.....	Stockport.....	Card and Blowing-room Operatives
Parker, G.	Rotherham	Enginemens and Kindred Trades, Nat. Federation
Parker, H.	Stoke-on-Trent	Enginemens and Kindred Trades, Nat. Federation
Parker, Councillor R.	Clitheroe	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
Parkington, John	Darwen	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
Parkinson, W.	Accrington	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
Pearson, G. H.	Leeds	Tram and Vehicle Workers
Perron, G. H.....	Basford.....	Hosiery Trimmers' Association
Peters, A.	Wrexham.....	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Plant, F.	Manchester	Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated
Pollard, Robert	Burnley	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
Pope, Councillor W.....	Hyde.....	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalga- mated) Association
Poulton, Alderman E. L....	Northampton	Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union
Power, G.	Walsall	Midland Leather Trades Federation
Powis, W. H.	Darlington	Iron and Steelworkers of Great Britain
Powlesland, J.....	Swansea	National Amal. Labourers' Union
Proudler, W. H.....	Sheffield	Enginemens and Kindred Trades, Nat. Federation
Ramsden, John	Aston	Brassworkers and Metal Mechanics
Ramsden, Thomas T.	Bolton	Dyers, Bleachers, and Kindred Trades
Reeve, J.	Nottingham	Plumbers' Association of Great Britain
Reid, Michael.....	Liverpool	Dock Labourers, National Union
Reynolds, A. H.	Leicester	Municipal Employés' Association
Richards, T., M.P.....	Monmouthshire	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Richardson, T.	Durham	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Roberts, G. H., M.P.	Norwich	Typographical Association
Robertson, J.	Glasgow	Scotch Typographical Association

NAMES OF DELEGATES.	DISTRICT.	TRADE UNION REPRESENTED.
Robertson, J.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Robinson, H.	Barnsley	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Roebuck, S.	Barnsley	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Ross, C.	Glasgow	Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Ship-builders
Ross, W.	Manchester	Paper Mill Workers
Rothwell, T.	Burnley	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Roughley, H.	Atherton	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Rowan, James	London	Electrical Trades Union
Rowarth, S.	Chesterfield	Enginemen and Firemen, Derby and Notts
Rowe, A.	Huddersfield	Dyers, Bleachers, and Kindred Trades
Rowlerson, G.	Woolwich	Tailors, Amalgamated Society
Rowlinson, G. H.	Cinderford	Miners' Association, Forest of Dean
Rudd, E. J.	London	French Polishers, United London
Ryall, W.	London	Gasworkers and General Labourers
Ryder, W. A.	Bolton	Amalgamated Society Railway Servants
Samuel, T.	Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	Enginemen's Association, Northern United
Scaife, J.	Bury and Radcliffe ..	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Schofield, W.	Heywood	Card and Blowing-room Operatives
Sclare, M.	Leeds	Tailors' Machinists, etc., Jewish
Screen, J.	Newport	Dock, Wharf, and General Workers
Seamer, G.	Derby	General Union Carpenters and Joiners
Seddon, J. A., M.P.	London	Shop Assistants, etc.
Settle, T.	Lees	Card and Blowing room Operatives
Sexton, James	Liverpool	Dock Labourers' National Union
Shackleton, D. J., M.P. ..	Darwen	Weavers. Winders and Warpers
Sharp, A.	Cumberland	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Shaw, A.	Huddersfield	Weavers and Textile Workers (Heavy Woollen)
Shaw, T.	Sheffield	Typographical Association
Shaw, T.	Colne	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Shaw, W.	Durham	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Sheard, David	Manchester	Assurance Agents, National Union
Shipley, C.	York	Enginemen and Kindred Trades, Nat. Federation
Shirkie, Robert	Blantyre	Enginekeepers, Mutual Prot. (Scotland)
Shorrocks, E.	Nelson	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Sides, D.	Wrexham	Miners' Association, Durham
Simmons, Councillor H. ..	Stafford	Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union
Simpson, G.	Radford	Lace Workers' Auxiliary Society
Sitch, T.	Staffordshire	Chainmakers' and Strikers' Association
Skinner, H.	Manchester	Typographical Association
Slade, Miss M.	Ormskirk	Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association
Slinger, R.	Clitheroe	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Smalley, Councillor A.	Bolton	Bleachers, Dyers, and Kindred Trades
Smillie, R.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Smith, A.	Coalville	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Smith, Arthur	Liverpool	Dock Labourers, National Union
Smith, E. S. R.	London	Printers' Assistants, Operative
Smith, J.	Castleford	Engine and Boilermen, Nat. Federation
Smith, J. E.	Leeds	Gasworkers and General Labourers
Smith, M.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Smith, R.	Sheerness	Assoc. Shipconstructive and Shipwrights
Spackman, I. T.	London	London Coachmakers
Speakman, J.	London	Tram and Vehicle Workers
Spence, R.	Newcastle	Labour, National Amalgamated Union
Spencer, J. A.	Portsmouth	Municipal Employes' Association
Spencer, L.	Nottinghamshire	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Spicer, E.	London	Watermen, Lightermen, etc.
Stanley, A., M.P.	Staffordshire	Miners' Federation of Great Britain

NAMES OF DELEGATES.	DISTRICT.	TRADE UNION REPRESENTED.
Stanton, C. B.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Stewart, A.	Nottinghamshire	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Stewart, C. R.	Huddersfield	Tram and Vehicle Workers
Stokes, John	London	London Glass Blowers
Stone, A.	Bristol	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Straker, W.	Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Stuart, G. H.	London	Postmen's Federation
Sutton, A. T.	Bradford	Bookbinders and Machine Rulers
Swanney, J.	Glasgow	Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated
Sykes, J.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Tattersall, J. E.	Manchester	Loom Overlookers, General Union
Taylor, Councillor J., J.P.	Dudley	Midland Counties Trade Federation
Templeton, J.	Glasgow	Scottish Typographical Association
Tevenan, P. J.	Stockport	Municipal Employés' Association
Thaxton, G.	Leeds	Amal. Society of Railway Servants
Thomas, Ben.	Todmorden	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Thomas, J.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Thomas, J. H.	Cardiff	Amal. Society of Railway Servants
Thomas, R.	Liverpool	Brassfounders, Finishers, Copper-smiths, etc., Society
Thompson, W.	Grimsby	Enginemen and Kindred Trades Nat. Federation
Thorne, W., M.P.	London	Gasworkers and General Labourers
Thorneloe, Jno., J.P.	Notts.	Rotary Power Knitters.
Thorpe, Thomas.	Atherton	Cotton Spinners' Association
Thundercliffe, Geo.	Nottingham	Amalgamated Union Bakers and Confectioners
Thurston, F.	London	Enginemen and Kindred Trades Nat. Federation
Tillett, Ben.	London	Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers
Tonner, J.	Hamilton, Scotland ..	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Tootill, R.	Bolton	Machine and General Union
Townend, R.	Blackburn	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Traynor, H.	Glasgow	Steel and Iron Workers
Troughton, W.	Padiham	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Trueman A.	Chesterfield	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Turner, Ben.	Batley	Weavers and Textile Workers' (Heavy Woollen) Association
Turner, J.	London	Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks
Varley, Miss J.	Bradford	Weavers and Textile Workers
Varnam, T. E.	Nottingham	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Venters, W. E.	Peterborough	Amalgamated Society Railway Servants
Vernon, Wm.	Stockport	Bricklayers, Manchester Unity
Vyce, W.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Wadsworth, J., M.P.	Barnsley	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Walker, F.	Bradford	Tram and Vehicle Workers
Walker, J.	Workington	Steel Smelters, Mill, etc., Workers
Walkden, A. J.	London	Railway Clerks' Association
Walkden, T.	Darwen	Weavers' (N. R. Federation) Association
Walls, Alderman P.	Workington	Blastfurnacemen, etc., Federation
Walsh, S., M.P.	Wigan	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Ward, J., M.P.	London	Navvies, Builders' and General Labourers
Wardle, C.	Nottingham	Lace Makers' Amalgamated Society
Warner, Councillor W. ..	Hinckley	Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union
Watson, T.	Golborne	Enginemen and Kindred Trades, Nat. Federation
Watts, G.	Bristol	Miners' Federation of Great Britain

NAMES OF DELEGATES.	DISTRICT.	TRADE UNION REPRESENTED.
Webster, Councillor J.	Macclesfield	Dyers, Bleachers, and Kindred Trades
Welsh, F. W.	London	Bookbinders' (Vellum Account) Society
Welsh, G.	Glasgow	Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union
Welsh, T.	London	Bricklayers' Society
Wesson, W.	Nottingham	Typographical Association
Wheeler, J.	Leicester	Boot and Shoe Operatives, Nat. Union
Whitefield, W.	Bristol	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Whitehead, C. H.	Leeds	Spindle and Flyer Makers' Society
Whitehead, James	Glasgow	Brassfounders, Turners and Copper-smiths
Whitehouse, S. H.	Radstock	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Wigginton, H.	Derby	Co-operative Employés
Wignall, W.	Blackburn	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Wildman, W.	Bacup	Carters, Lurrymen and Motormen
Wile, John	Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	Brassfounders, Turners, and Copper-smiths
Wilkie, Coun. A., J.P., M.P.	Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	Associated Shipconstructive and Shipwrights
Wilcox, J.	Jarrow-on-Tyne	Associated Shipconstructive and Shipwrights
Williams, J. B.	Manchester	Musicians, Amalgamated Union
Williams, H.	Cardiff	Amal. Union Bakers and Confectioners
Williams, H. W.	Swansea	National Amal. Labourers' Union
Williamson, A.	Hyde and District ...	Cotton Spinners' Amal. Association
Wilson, J., M.P.	Durham	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Wilson, J. H., M.P.	London	Sailors' and Firemen's Union
Wilson, J.	Scotland	Miners' Federation
Wilson, J.	Chorley	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Wilson, J. G.	Stockton	Amalgamated Society Railway Servants
Winstone, J.	South Wales	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Wood, E. J.	London	Coachmakers of United Kingdom
Wood, H.	Hyde and Hadfield ..	Weavers' (Northern Counties Amalgamated) Association
Wood, John	Liverpool	Dock Labourers' National Union
Wood, Joseph	Deptford	Stevedores' Protection League
Woodbine, F.	Staffordshire	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Woodland, J.	Nottingham	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Worthington, Miss A. ...	Denton	Felt Hat Trimmers and Wool Sorters
Worthington, T.	Wigan	General Union of Carpenters and Joiners
Wragg, S.	Failsworth	Cotton Spinners' Amal. Association
Wride, G.	Cheltenham	Enginemen and Kindred Trades
		National Federation
Yarwood, W.	Northwich	Salt Workers
Young, A.	Radstock	Miners' Federation of Great Britain
Young, J.	Leeds	Amalgamated Union of Clothiers' Operatives

BALANCE SHEET OF THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE,

From 1st August, 1907, to 31st July, 1908.

INCOME.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Balance from Bath Congress.....	3521	16 2	By <i>Expenses of Bath Congress</i> :—		
„ Affiliation Fees (Bath Congress) ..	42	0 0	General Purposes Committee,		
„ Delegates' Fees (Bath Congress) .	18	10 0	Tellers, Scrutineers, Door-		
„ Arbitration—			keepers, Hall Assistants, Por-		
Tin and Iron Plate Workers v.			ters, Secretary, Messengers, etc.	77	11 0
Coppersmiths' Society—De-			Stationery, Carriage of Parcels,		
posit	20	0 0	Postage	15	3 1
Musicians, Theatrical Employés			Badges for Congress	27	8 6
v. Variety Artists	10	5 0	Hire of Hall and Alterations ..	50	15 1
National Amalgamated Union			American Delegates' Hotel Bills		
of Labour v. Cokemen and			and Presents	28	8 9
Labourers' Association—De-			Printing	9	6 6
posit	20	0 0	Reporter of Congress Proceedings	18	13 0
National Union of Gasworkers			Delegates to America	120	0 0
v. Cokemen and Labourers'			Grant to Bath Hospital	25	0 0
Association—Deposit	20	0 0	Bells for Platform	4	5 0
Amalgamated Society of Rail-			„ Parliamentary Committee Meet-		
way Servants v. Locomotive			ings—Fares	167	19 11
Enginemen and Firemen....	20	0 0	„ Parliamentary Committee Meet-		
„ Delegates' Fees to Conference on			ings—Fees	328	10 0
Labour Newspaper	13	10 0	„ Joint and Sub-Committee Meet-		
„ Affiliation Fees to Nottingham			ings—Fares	47	18 9
Congress	2589	0 0	„ Joint and Sub-Committee Meet-		
„ Delegates' Fees to Nottingham			ings—Fees	125	16 9
Congress	192	0 0	„ Printing and Stationery	346	8 1
„ Interest on Deposit Account	30	0 8	„ Cost of Congress Reports.....	412	0 0
„ Subscription to Nottingham Con-			„ Press Cuttings and Newspapers..	9	3 11
gress	0	5 0	„ Auditors' Fees and Fares	7	2 6
„ Reports of Deputations to Cabinet			„ Clerical Assistance	8	0 0
Ministers	17	13 0	„ General Office Expenditure (in-		
„ Congress Reports	386	4 5	cluding Alterations to Office,		
			Christmas Boxes to Postmen,		
			Porters, Cleaners).....	18	3 6
			„ Secretary's Salary.....	295	16 8
			„ Income Tax on Secretary's Salary	4	6 3
			„ Secretary's Assistant	150	0 0
			„ Postage, Telegrams, etc.....	18	18 2
			„ Rent, Light, Coals.....	126	6 9
			„ Hire of Conference Room at		
			Caxton Hall	1	11 6
			„ British Association for Labour		
			Legislation	8	18 6
			„ Cost of Telephone	9	3 0
			„ Nottingham Institution—Advance		
			on Rent, Allowance to Salvation		
			Army	13	11 6
			„ Telegraphic Address.....	1	1 0
			„ London Guarantee Co. (Fidelity		
			Bond)	3	15 0
			„ Treasurer's Salary.....	15	0 0
			„ Delegates' Expenses to Co-opera-		
			tive Congress	6	18 0
			„ Arbitrations—		
			Tin Plate Workers v. Copper-		
			smiths' Society—		
			Expenses	2	12 0
			Part Deposit returned	17	8 0
Carried forward.....	£6901	4 3	Carried forward.....	£2523	0 8

BALANCE SHEET OF THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE—*continued.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward.....	6901	4	3	Brought forward.....	2523	0	8
				By Arbitrations— <i>continued.</i>			
				Nat. Amal. U. of Labour v.			
				Cokemen and Labourers—			
				Deposit returned	20	0	0
				Expenses	4	16	0
				Blastfurnacemen's Federation			
				v. Gavan Duffy—Expenses ..	19	13	0
				Gasworkers' Union v. Cokemen			
				and Lab'rs—Deposit returned	20	0	0
				Nuneaton Dispute (1907)—			
				Expenses	9	2	9
				Part Deposit returned	30	17	6
				Musicians, Theatrical Employés			
				v. Variety Artists—Expenses	10	5	0
				A. S. Railway Servants v. Loco.			
				Enginemmen—Expenses	4	7	6
				„ Delegate's Fee to Peace Congress	0	9	6
				„ „ „ National			
				„ Housing Reform Congress	1	1	0
				„ Honorarium to Mr. Bowerman,			
				M.P.	21	0	0
				„ Meetings on Old-Age Pensions—			
				Fares and Fees of Speakers....	44	18	6
				Hire of Halls, Advertising, etc..	126	0	6
				„ Expenses <i>re</i> Transvaal Miners'			
				Appeal	4	1	0
				„ Conference on Daily Newspaper			
				—Hire of Hall, etc.	5	6	6
				„ Shorthand Report of Deputation	5	3	0
				„ Balance—	2850	2	5
				Current A/c at Bank.....	12	9	
				Deposit „ „	1500	0	0
				Cash in hand	19	9	1
					4051	1	10
					£6901	4	3
£6901	4	3					

August 13th, 1908.

Audited and found correct,

S. H. WHITEHOUSE, } AUDITORS.
WALTER GEE, }

BISHOP HAMILTON BAYNES'S SERMON.

Bishop Hamilton Baynes took for a text the words: "And the street of the city was pure gold," Rev. xxi, 21v. He said: The point of an opening service of the Trades Union Congress would perhaps be best expressed if I were this morning to lay aside the convention of the pulpit of taking a text, and were instead to adopt one of the conventions of the platform and say: "Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I rise to move the previous question." For there is a previous question—a question which goes before all the details which you will be discussing this week. All the questions of organisation, all the varied problems that are on your agenda paper, are all subsequent to the great, previous question. What is it all for? What is our ultimate end? What is our ideal, our goal? Aristotle began his great work on Ethics by saying that every art and every science has an end. But there are so many of those ends which prove, after all, to be the means to some further end; and so he went on to ask what is the end in itself—the *summum bonum*, the ultimate end, that which joins our life together as one whole. When you have found that you have got your religion. Religion is the thing which binds together our whole life in one concentrated absorbing purpose, and which binds us all together in a purpose which is common to all. And you all have your religion. You may call it by various names: you may not even recognise it as such, but it relates each one to the whole, and the religion that moves you is really the deepest part of your life. And because we are not animals, not moved blindly by instinct and impulse from hand to mouth; because we can look ahead and think and reason, therefore we must have some religion, some theory of life, some theory of our relation to the whole. And all men who have thought have felt the need of this. You see far back, long before the beginning of Christianity, men feeling after some such theory. Take a legend which was old in the days of Plato—the legend of Prometheus. The story is this. The gods made all the creatures, and they entrusted to Epimetheus and Prometheus the work of dividing among them the several gifts and powers. And Epimetheus gave the animals various gifts—to one swiftness, to another size, to another strength; and then Prometheus discovered that nothing was left for man, that man was weak and defenceless and must go under in the struggle for existence; and so he stole the fire from heaven, and with the fire the arts which work by fire, and then with that new knowledge man was the equal and the superior of the natural world around him and was able to survive in the struggle for existence. But then it proved that, although man was now the conqueror in relation to the world of nature around him, man was not provided with the political art—the art of living together in harmonious co-operation. And again there was a danger that the race might be destroyed, this time by internal dissensions, by wranglings and quarrellings and civil war, and so Zeus gave to man this gift—the double gift of *αἰδώς* (*aidos*) and *δίκη* (*dike*)—the gift of reverence and justice: reverence to feel something of the greatness of man's life, and of the infinite and eternal around him. Zeus gave man that admiration and aspiration and reverence which made him feel out after the great mind which is working behind this world: feel out for the heart which beats beneath it; and justice or righteousness to make man's life, and his relations with his fellows, a harmonious co-operation. That is an early attempt at explanation, and perhaps a childish attempt, but it is a sort of forecast of the development of Trade Unionism. First of all, the struggle for existence. The fight with nature leads to the invention of machinery, the use of steam, the gift of fire which Prometheus stole, and with it, the whole industrial system; and all this makes him conqueror over nature,

and leads to a vast accumulation of wealth. Then it is discovered that this gift, while it secures man's victory over nature, leads to new troubles, to strange dissensions, to gross inequalities, to the contrast of those who are in ease and luxury and those who are suffering in poverty and want. Then Trade Unionism comes in as one of the agencies to modify this struggle and introduce a more reasonable, more brotherly, state of life. It does it primarily in two ways. First of all, it does it by establishing through collective bargaining a more equal arrangement as between the worker, who, when solitary, pressed by the immediate needs and pressure of hunger, cannot make an equal bargain, and the capitalist, who is in no hurry, because he has his capital to fall back upon; and secondly, by standing by the weak, by co-operation and brotherhood to come to the rescue of the unemployed, the sick and the suffering, and to provide funds for burials, and for widows and orphans. That was the first aim of Trade Unionism, but it does not stop there, as your agenda paper shows. Incidentally, you have learned a great deal more than the organisation of this machinery of help. Trade Unionism has taught you the new joy of corporate life—brotherhood and unselfishness, the knowledge how to govern yourselves, the patience that is necessary for self-government, the patience and courage necessary in the midst of misrepresentation, when those who are put forward to lead and guide are misrepresented by the very men who have appointed them; those gifts of self-government which Englishmen call "playing the game," learning to be fair to the adversary; not to overstate a case; to try and look at a question all round. And so it has proved that when at last your representatives have entered the House of Commons the country finds, perhaps to its astonishment, that they have learned in those great unions of yours those very qualities which people had always associated with the name of an English gentleman—"playing the game," forbearance and moderation, self-government, and self-restraint, which they thought to be the monopoly of the public schools and the universities. So you have been finding out that the evolution of society brings first the industrial system to conquer Nature, then the Trade Union system to organise life; then you find this all working up to the great moral qualities, to reverence and righteousness, and that these things are the real end and aim. The end is that you may together make a righteous world—a world of *αἰδώς* and *δίκη*, of those who are conscious of that wonderful gift of God—the power of looking beyond the visible world and asking the cause, seeking the Reason behind the world. Those are the higher things to which your work is leading you. So you will agree that no mere material change, no mere outward reforms, important and essential as they are as means, are any of them really the final end. They are the means to a further end, to something higher; something in the region of spiritual and moral life; something in the region of character. Nothing else will satisfy you. If you doubt it, I recommend you to read H. G. Wells' novels—"The Time Machine" and "The War of the Worlds." There he imagined with very vivid and grim imagination the process of evolution carried to a very much further stage, but purely a material evolution, with no moral or spiritual growth. The result is an evolution of creatures who are moral monstrosities, all that is fiendish and horrible and bad—unhuman and unmoral. That is not what either you or I would aim at. We want the material progress, the outward reforms; but we want them as means to a higher life, that we may enter more fully into those things which really make human life—the things of the mind, the heart, and the soul. And so the "previous question" is put by our Lord very simply: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" Now, that does not mean that we are to put aside all interest in mere outward things, and to spend our lives in dreaming about the heaven beyond the grave. That is not the meaning. No one can read our Lord's words carefully and go away with the impression that that is what He aimed at in human life. It is not that we are to abate a little of the greed and avarice of

riches in order to accumulate an eternity of selfish pleasure in the heaven beyond. Our Lord would say to such a man: "Whosoever would save his soul shall lose it." And there is one passage in which He pronounced quite finally and decisively against that view of religion which we may call "other-worldliness." He was dining at the house of a Pharisee. As he watched the scene he volunteered a "straight talk" as to the contrast of worldly practice and the methods of His kingdom. He said to his host: "I notice that when you make a feast, you call the rich and the great that they may ask you again. You use your hospitality as a step in the social ladder, so that they may invite you in return. That is not hospitality; that is mere selfish diplomacy. In my kingdom you will call the poor and the maimed, and the halt and the blind. They cannot recompense you; you will have your recompense in that eternal world where love alone survives." Then one at the table—one who, in the language of to-day, would have called our Lord's words socialistic—wishing to change an inconvenient conversation, said, with a certain pious unction: "Ah! Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God." How blessed it will be in that other world for all to meet. Our Lord answered that man with the parable of the Great Supper, and the whole point of the parable is this. The master sent his servant at supper time to say to them that were bidden: "Come; for all things are *now* ready." It was not in another world, but *now* that they might realise all this. The kingdom of God is at hand. Now is the time when you may, if you will, enter into that larger life of unselfish love and brotherhood; the great family where all meet for the joy of meeting, for the joy of brotherhood. It is mere cant, mere hypocrisy, to sing our hymns about "Mystic sweet communion, with those whose rest is won." Unless we wish, and show by our practice, that we wish for more real communion with those whose work is still going on. Now what is this kingdom of God which our Lord speaks of as the one thing worth living for? It is the centre of the whole New Testament. The gospel is the gospel of the kingdom. It is the new social brotherly life of those who realise the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. You will best understand it by considering two views of religion. There is first the personal view of religion—the view that religion is simply a matter between the soul and God—making our personal peace with God, being converted and securing our place in heaven—that religion is purely a personal and individual matter. It may happen to be convenient, when you have been converted, to gather together a certain limited number of those who have had like experience and form yourselves into a society or church. But the question of a society is quite secondary, and therefore it matters little what society you join or how many societies you make. That is one view. The other view is that you cannot make your peace with God, you cannot be converted, you cannot be forgiven, until you come out from your own little private, selfish life into the broad life of membership for which you were made. You were never made to be separate units. The first step in religion is to come out from your little private life and find your place in that one society which belongs to you as men—the great family of the one Father, the kingdom of the one King. That is the corporate view of religion, and it follows that the society, the church, is not a secondary matter at all. It is of the very essence of religion. And, further, you find that the society cannot be a little, exclusive, separatist clique of co-religionists. It is the one society of mankind, potentially as broad as the human race, and accordingly we go and claim every little child in a certain area in which we are set to work, and baptise it because it is its birthright to be a member—"a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." We cannot, therefore, make a church any more than we can make our own family. We do not go about seeking a father and mother, and say, "These people are congenial; they agree with my views, and, therefore, I will take them for my parents."

Our place is given us. We were born into a family, and have certain duties to it; and if we have neglected them we must say, "I will arise and go to my Father." That is what we say about the Church. It is potentially, though not yet actually, the whole society, and we have not to make a church—but to find our place in it—and only so far as we do find ourselves in that brotherly society are we really converted people. Let me digress for a moment to consider the application of this to questions which are agitating us at the present time. It must govern our views on education. First of all, I am sure you will agree with me, at all events the fathers among you will, that the thing we want is that our children should be good before they are clever. I do not want my boys to develop enormous intellects and amass great fortunes by their brains if it is at the cost of their being impure in character, unreliable, selfish, and untruthful. I would rather have them comparatively dull boys, and occupying a dull position in life, if I was sure they would be straight and clean, honest and true, loving and unselfish in their life. How are we to make our children good? The very first step is to teach the little child that it is a member, not to consider only its own little life; that it has its place to fill, to live the unselfish life of membership, first, in that society of the home, then in the workshop, then in the city and the State, to carry into all the enlarging circles of its life the same principle that it is a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of that brotherly social kingdom. That is why I cannot accept as a satisfactory solution that terrible word of so many syllables, the word "undenominationalism," which the late Prime Minister described as a "kind of religious teaching which can be given without attaching the child to any society." That, to my mind, is its final condemnation. The first thing I want to do is to attach the children to a society, and I think the Labour Church would agree with me. I would rather they were members of any society—Baptist, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, or Congregationalist—than go out to swell that chaos of individual selfishness which is the curse of to-day and is at the root of all our troubles. I agree that it is not the State's business to settle the question of which particular society the children shall be members. That should be left to the parents and the churches. But because we want our children to be good before they are clever, the State should provide facilities for those who are ready to give their labour to that work. I am sure that the bogey put before us as to the hopeless chaos that would result from such an arrangement is unreal. If you would give me a chance to-morrow of meeting the members of the Free Church Council, the Roman Catholics, and the Jews in Nottingham, I am quite sure we could work out a harmonious plan for teaching the children, and making them members of the Christian or other societies, rather than let them go out to swell the chaos of individual selfishness. But, to return, what is the great obstacle to this present, social, kingdom of God? It is selfishness (and selfishness is another word for sin) which is for ever dividing men. You cannot get on if you ignore the great fact of sin. It is all very well to say sin is the result of environment. It is to a certain extent. A man who has been brought up in a slum, and has never known what it is to see a fair and well-ordered and decent life, is not likely to be a pattern of morality and purity. But it is not simply a matter of environment. If it were, then in those classes where there is no such pressure of poverty, where the environment is all that is good, you would not find sin. Is that the case? I imagine there are among you those who spend a good deal of energy and indignation in denouncing the sins of the rich. Sin, therefore, is a reality amid all environments; and, therefore, the first word is "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." But there are many preachers of repentance, and few who can practise what they preach, and none (but One) who can both conquer sin and pass on the power to conquer it to others. Therefore, Christ came to reveal God to men—to live the perfect life and die the perfect death—to "take upon Him the form of a servant, and

become obedient unto death—even the death of the Cross,” and to impart to us the new spirit of that redeemed humanity. And He did it, and on the Day of Pentecost the kingdom actually began, the old divisions and misunderstandings began to give way before the forces of the Spirit—the divisions of race and language, for men of many languages said, “We do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God,” and divisions between individuals, for “they were all of one heart and of one soul, neither said any of them that the things which he possessed were his own, but they had all things common.” “Ah!” you say, “we have got far away from that communism of the early Church.” Yes, alas, we have been invaded by the sudden influx of new conditions of the industrial system, the enormous growth of population which followed the introduction of steam, and it has made society so complicated that it is difficult to see a way out. I think, however, simple Christians can go back and try to think out these problems. I try to think what would happen if we were starting a new community; if we were founding a new colony, and tried to take with us the Christian principles of brotherhood. First, we should divide the various functions of labour according to the qualifications of each; then we should choose out the wisest and best among us for managers and rulers, and these we should trust. (Those of you who are leaders know your followers do not always trust you; it is one of the evils we suffer under, that if a man takes up an office people at once think he has an axe to grind and suspect his motives). We should, then, trust our leaders and pay them liberally; for the service of the brain is higher than the service of the hand. More than that, if we were wise we should see that life was not mere industry, not mere hand labour. As Glaucon said to Socrates, when in framing his ideal Republic he had dealt only with handicrafts: “Socrates, you have made a city of pigs.” So we should have poets, artists, writers, and teachers, who minister to the minds and souls of the people. But if the managers began to say, “We shall pay you the least we can get you to work for, and keep for ourselves all that is left,” I should say that was not a brotherly arrangement. And if as the result of this we saw children going barefoot and the men who might make the needed shoes standing idle for want of work we should say: “We must meet together to consult how we can use this capital to put right this anomaly.” We should say the whole community must consult, and if the reason was that men would not work we should know how to deal with the drunkard and the idler. If there were men who would not work—drunkards and loafers—we should deal rigorously with them to whatever class they belonged. Those are the lines upon which it seems to me a Christian community would organise and work. We should keep before us the great truth of St. Paul: “That there should be no schism in that body. . . . and whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it, or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice.” We should say to the man who called himself a “self-made” man: “My friend, you are ruining your own life in thinking that you are a self-made man. You depend both for outward goods and for the good things of the soul on the community in which alone you can find your true life.” None is “self-made,” we are all members one of another. The other day at the Lambeth Conference the Bishop of Uganda reminded us English Bishops that we were in danger of thinking we knew everything, and that when we went to foreign and barbarian lands we must Anglicise them, that we had also something to learn. In Uganda, when a native met a man who was working in the public service, such as road-making, he would stop and say, “Thank you, my friend; thank you for working.” When the Bishop of Uganda told that story to Bishop Westcott, the great Bishop of Durham, who had so much to do with the settling of the Durham coal strike, Bishop Westcott thanked him with gleaming eyes, and said, “I shall never pass a miner again without saying in my heart, ‘Thank you, my friend; thank you for working.’” We

are members of one body, and we cannot for the soul's sake, as well as for the body's, go our selfish way. So we have a great work to do in bringing the present state of things back to that Christian ideal in setting up the kingdom of God. That chapter we read just now is—poetically, of course—a picture of that ideal society. St. John is looking at the great selfish worldly Roman Empire, and sees that the little Christian community is destined through the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit to grow into the city of God. That city is not in another world, not in heaven above. St. John sees the New Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven. That city is to reverse the condition of things in the worldly life. St. Paul and his companions were spoken of by the world as “These men who have turned the world upside down.” Christianity does invert things. “The kings of the Gentiles exercise authority over them, but whosoever will be chief among you shall be servant of all, even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many.” That is the inversion, and it goes through all life. The King who reigns is the King who stooped to wash His disciples' feet and to give His life upon the Cross. Everything is inverted, and one inversion is that the streets of that city shall be pure gold. Gold has often been a curse, for it represents individual greed and avarice and selfishness. It was the love of money which was the enemy in the New Testament: not idolatry, not the public-house, not the theatre, but Mammon. “It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.” “Covetousness is idolatry.” That is the enemy all through—the love of money. But in this city, gold is to be a blessing not a curse, for it is not in the private houses that the gold is found, but in the streets which are common to all, and the meeting place of all; and with that transformation, all who are at present identified with the street, shall be transformed. The men of the streets shall be transformed. The men who tramp the streets by day and sleep in them by night because society has no use for them shall do so no longer. The women of the streets shall be transformed. No longer shall women walk the streets, for “the publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of heaven.” The children of the streets shall be transformed. No little children of the streets shall die by an infant mortality which might be stopped to-morrow if we put our heads and hearts together to discover the remedy. We shall know once more the value our Lord sets upon every human life. When He says: “Take heed that ye despise not *one* of these little ones, for I say unto you that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven.” So the “previous question” is how may we together co-operate, putting aside our jealousies and suspicions, to set up this kingdom of God.

Twenty-five years ago, when last your Congress came to Nottingham, I had the privilege, as a young curate, of preaching to you. Then, before there was a Labour Party in Parliament, before your Congress had grown to its present size and importance, before the day had dawned when we are accused of speaking smooth things to the Labour Party and of being the court chaplains of King Demos, I ventured to claim Trade Unionists as fellow workers towards this kingdom of God; and I claim you still and ask that behind all your discussions you will consider the “previous question,” and keep before you that vision which our Lord has given us of the New Jerusalem, and take as your motto the words of William Blake:—

I will not rest from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

TRADES UNION CONGRESS.



REPORT

OF THE

Forty-first Annual Gathering

HELD IN

THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, NOTTINGHAM,

FROM

SEPTEMBER 7TH TO 12TH, 1908.

President - - D. J. SHACKLETON, M.P.

INTRODUCTION.

*—

LAST year we were able to report that never in the annals of the Trades Union Congress had there been so large and representative a gathering as that held in Bath in 1907.

We are, however, able to say that the Congress recently held in Nottingham far exceeded our expectations, both as regards the number of Trade Unionists represented, viz, 1,777,000 as against 1,700,000 the previous year, and the number of delegates present, which was 522 as compared with 521 at Bath; the total is most remarkable, considering the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, with a membership of 90,000, had withdrawn during the year, and 14 societies affiliated did not send delegates.

This goes to show that the interest in the Congress is increasing, and not by any means diminishing. The delegates were constant in their attendance and most businesslike in dealing with the various subjects on the Agenda, great credit being due to the President owing to the tact and ability displayed by him during the week. We received a most cordial reception from the Mayor and Sheriff and members of the City Corporation, and made many friends during our stay. A most pleasing feature of the Congress was a sermon preached to the delegates by Bishop Hamilton Baynes; we have reprinted the same in this report, and hope it will be read by our members.

The Congress of 1908 in Nottingham is proof that it still remains the most representative gathering of Trade Unionists in this country, and we hope our visit this year will be the means of diminishing some of the squalor and poverty which is the curse of our great industrial centres. Our work is developing in directions which a few years ago were never thought of. United, we can accomplish much; although something has been done in the past, much more remains to be done in the future. We trust that our week's labours will prove useful to the industrial workers in and around the district, and that the Nottingham Congress will stand conspicuous in the history of our movement.

FIRST DAY.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 7th.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, President of the Congress, was accompanied on the platform at the opening by the Mayor (Councillor J. T. Spalding), the Sheriff (Councillor W. H. Carey), the Town Clerk (Sir Samuel Johnson), Alderman Sir Joseph Bright, Alderman A. Pyatt, Bishop Hamilton Baynes; the three members for the city—Mr. J. H. Yoxall, Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., and Mr. Arthur Richardson—Mr. W. Hunt, J.P., Councillors R. Sands, W. Ward, J. Marlow, G. Tustin, F. R. Berryman, J. E. Pendleton, H. G. Ford, E. Harlow, J. Ashworth, A. Ball, S. Cook, F. Ball, and R. Fleeman. The Labour Movement was represented by Mr. J. Ward, M.P., Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P., Mr. W. C. Steadman, M.P., Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., Mr. J. Hodge, M.P., J. Haslam, M.P., R. Bell, M.P., A. Wilkie, M.P., D. C. Cummings, J.P., W. J. Davis, J.P., F. Chandler, J.P., J. Sexton, J. B. Williams, B. Cooper, L.C.C., W. Mosses, and the representatives of the local Trades Council, including Mr. G. Thundercliffe (president), Mr. J. Thorneloe, J.P. (secretary), Mr. J. G. Hancock, J.P. (Notts. Miners' agent), and Mr. L. Spencer. The Board of Trade Labour Department was represented by Mr. C. J. Drummond and Mr. Isaac Mitchell; and the fraternal delegates from America (Messrs. A. Feruseth and J. J. Creamer); with representatives from the Labour Party (Mr. A. Henderson, M.P.), the General Federation of Trade Unions (Mr. W. A. Appleton), and the Co-operative Union (Mr. S. Redfern) were also present.

The PRESIDENT: It is with pleasure that I am able to inform you that we once more have upon the platform at the opening of Congress the representatives of the City Corporation, who have come here to do honour to our gathering. It will be my duty to make a speech to you later on; I will therefore, at this stage, content myself by asking you to give a hearing to the Mayor, who desires to give you a civic welcome on behalf of the Corporation.

WELCOME BY THE MAYOR OF NOTTINGHAM.

The MAYOR OF NOTTINGHAM gave a very hearty welcome to the Congress in the name of the citizens of Nottingham. He said it was many years since they were previously assembled in Nottingham, and their organisation had advanced immensely in the meantime. Those were the days of comparatively small things, when they were in their infancy; now they represented a very great and important part of the people of the country. Their constant effort had been to improve the conditions of the workmen—to give them better wages and better surroundings—and he trusted their efforts in the past had been successful, and that they would be in the future. Nottingham was a most hospitable city, and he hoped their visit would be a pleasant one, and that their deliberations would be inspired with that true spirit of patriotism which tended to the strengthening of England amongst the nations of the world, and the happiness of every class amongst her people.

The SHERIFF supported the Mayor's welcome, and, referring to the Sunday gatherings in connection with the Congress, said he was struck by two things—firstly, by the diversity of opinion expressed at many of them, and, secondly, by the earnest desire possessed by every one of them to do their best for Trade Unionism and for the country. He read with great pleasure Bishop Baynes's sermon at St. Mary's Church. On reading the various addresses, from whatever standpoint the question was looked upon, he could not help thinking of

the words of a man who did a great deal for the advancement of true life, and he hoped the spirit of those words might actuate all the gatherings of the Congress. With them he would close—"All religion has relation to life, and the life of religion is to do good."

A FRIENDLY WARNING TO THE DELEGATES.

Sir HENRY COTTON, M.P., hoped the delegates would not be drawn aside too much from their arduous business by the many seductions and attractions which would assuredly be afforded to them in Nottingham. The agenda covered almost every subject of pressing importance, some of them of the most paramount importance, their judgment upon which would materially influence the opinion of the citizens of the United Kingdom. If any body of men was in a position to express a valid opinion on the subject of unemployment, it was that great body of Trade Union delegates. He trusted their suggestions on that subject might result in valuable hints to the country and the Government. Other matters of profound importance were international peace and the best means of securing industrial peace between employers and employés. There were great responsibilities resting upon them. The Trades Union Congress was now a great power, listened to everywhere with respect, and in proportion to its power and its strength were the individual responsibilities of the delegates. He heartily congratulated them on the power they had attained, and he hoped their deliberations would be conducted with that wisdom and sagacity with which they had been marked in previous years.

MR. YOXALL'S TRIBUTE.

Mr. J. H. YOXALL, M.P., declared that he had pleasure and pride in associating himself in welcoming them to Nottingham—a city which, for its size, was second to none in attachment to and the development of the movement to which they belonged. He was surprised that it had taken them 25 years to get there. There were no doubt foolish people who decried the principles for which they stood, and blamed the practice in which they operated. But the bulk of the people of Nottingham, he was sure all wise people in Nottingham, recognised that they were a great force for obtaining justice and fair play. That was the principle on which they stood—combination of all to obtain fair play for all and for the individual as well, and he firmly believed that all wise employers of the city recognised the vast advantage of being able to negotiate with agents and secretaries of Trade Unions instead of with individuals here and there. It was obvious, from their programme, that while they concerned themselves with obtaining industrial fair play by Trade Union methods, they intended also to obtain amelioration of the lot of the people by legislative methods. Quite properly, too. They represented a tremendous number—the bulk of the voters of the country; and they had a right to demand in their names that the great machine at Westminster, which had gone on so many years to so little effect, was so worked and engineered and supplied with steam that the progress of the people as a whole in the future should be at a quicker rate than in the past, so far as legislation could bring it about. There was one subject on the agenda which he firmly believed could do more for the country, for Trade Unionism, for that Congress, more for the demand for proper legislation than anything else—the education of the people.

"You, the pioneers, the veterans, who remember the Trades Congress at Nottingham 25 years ago," Mr. Yoxall proceeded, "know very well that the great difficulty in your path as Trade Union leaders has been the ignorance of the people. You know that those in your various trades and occupations who do not join with you are the most ignorant of those trades and occupations. The people have been kept back from claiming what they may fairly claim

because of besotted ignorance, lack of knowledge, lack of clear sight and clear heads—lack of education and the presence of ignorance all round. I wish your education resolutions God speed."

STRIKING SPEECH BY MR. ARTHUR RICHARDSON, M.P.

Mr. ARTHUR RICHARDSON, M.P., congratulated the Congress on the happy auspices under which they met. The great bar to progress in the past had been sectionalism. But on account of the action taken by the Congress they would never again see in the House of Commons one Labour man going into the "Aye" lobby and another into the "No" on Labour questions, as unfortunately had been their experience in the past. To-day the Labour Party stood in the House for legislative purposes as one solid compact body. For his part he was prepared always to co-operate with either of the two orthodox political parties (but never in any sense compromising principle in so doing), if by such means they could secure legislation in the interests of the class he represented and of the community in general. It had been said that the work of Trade Unionism was finished: that it was worn out and had become effete. "Not as long," he declared with great earnestness, "as in this city we have over 2,000 unemployed is the work of the Trades Congress finished." Not as long as we see sights such as must have made angels weep yesterday as we passed in our procession through Leen-side and Hockley—not dozens or scores, but hundreds of little children without boots or stockings or scarcely any clothing—on the day which is the Lord's Day. I agree with the Bishop that the great work of this Congress is to build here and now not merely a new heaven, but to bring to this earth such conditions as will obtain in heaven should any of us reach that goal. Could they imagine what the great Leader would have said had He listened to the evidence before the Committee on Home Industries showing that women worked ten hours a day at shirtmaking for six days a week for a wage never more than 5s. a week? What would He have said to them, and especially to the churches, when, as one of the witnesses stated, a poor woman, her husband out of work, her children in want, was confined prematurely (the child died in a few hours) in the early hours of the morning, and by midday she was again at her machine stitching blouses. As long as they had such conditions there was work enough and to spare for that Congress, and for every Labour organisation in the country.

LABOUR AND MILITARISM.

The Labour members in the House of Commons had spoken with no uncertain note in relation to the great principles on which they would see in the future a happy and merrie England. They had spoken with one voice upon what to him was one of the most serious problems of modern times. He spoke of the question of militarism. Every Labour member in the House of Commons was an opponent, and was prepared to oppose any increase in armaments, because every Labour member knew that the more money there was spent upon militarism the less money there was to provide for social reform. When they saw 15 millions of men armed to the teeth upon the Continent and in this country doomed to a life of unproductive sterility, not producing wealth for the benefit of the masses, but engaged in practising those arts and sciences not for putting brains into the children's heads but for blowing the brains out of their father's heads, it did not seem a far cry to the day when they should see "the Parliament of man"; yet it rested mainly, not with statesmen, not with Robert Blatchford or Keir Hardie, but the workingmen of this country and every other country. To the credit of Keir Hardie be it said, he had done more good by the article he wrote in the *Labour Leader* on August 14th than many Cabinet Ministers on either side of the House would do not only in a session but in a lifetime. He congratulated the Congress upon their

Chairman, with whom he had had the honour of working. Mr. Shackleton was a great man in other directions than *avouirdupois*. He was an honest man, and a man of whom they ought to be proud. He trusted they would see many men in the movement like him :—

Men whom the lusts of office do not kill,
Men whom the spoils of office will not buy ;
Men who have opinions and a will,
Men who do the right ; men who will not lie.

THE CLERGY AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

Bishop HAMILTON BAYNES said he fancied his must have been a unique experience, having had the honour of preaching to the Congress twice in a quarter of a century. It was a great pleasure to have been associated with two meetings, and it was true to say that they and he were working for a common purpose. He knew quite well what the feeling of a good many whom they represented was towards the church he represented. He knew that there was a great deal of justification for the idea that that church had been associated with privilege and prejudice. But the delegates knew a little of the difficulty of holding upon a straight course in spite of misrepresentation and misunderstanding. They could not always count upon absolute confidence and real understanding of motives which inspired them. The clergy, when they tried to labour for the kingdom of God, which they believed they were to see, or their descendants, stood to be misunderstood—on the one side to be called the “chaplains of King Demos” and on the other the parasites of the rich and the comfortable well-to-do. There were great leaders in the church who were determined to put in the forefront the reconstruction of society and the solution of those problems and horrors which some of the speakers had referred to that morning.

WELCOME FROM NOTTINGHAM TRADES COUNCIL.

Mr. G. THUNDERCLIFFE offered the delegates a welcome on behalf of the Nottingham Trades Council, which represented 40,000 Trade Unionists in the city and district. When he told them that on a family basis that meant the majority of the community they would realise that in 25 years the Trade Union movement had made great progress. He could not say they had a majority on the City Council, but the reason was that they had been a house divided amongst themselves. They were looking forward to the Congress to cement their differences, after which they would have one broad platform. Probably when the Congress came to Nottingham again they would be able to say they were taking their fair share in public life and public duties.

Mr. J. THORNELOE (Secretary of the Nottingham Trades Council) also spoke on behalf of the Trades Council, saying they looked forward to Congress to strengthen their position in the city. “We are fighting the battle for Labour all the year round,” he said, “and we want you to give us an extra lift while you are here.” He regretted that only 3,000 Trade Unionists out of the 40,000 who were on the books of the Trades Council attended the church parade, but he hoped Congress would not take it as an indication of their strength.

Mr. SHACKLETON then moved, and Mr. A. H. GILL, M.P., the Vice-Chairman, seconded, a vote of thanks to all who had so heartily welcomed the Congress and expressed such good wishes towards their movement and the work they had in hand.

The resolution was carried with acclamation, and the MAYOR briefly replied.

Congress then adjourned for luncheon.

AFTERNOON SITTING.

ELECTION OF TELLERS.

The following were elected Tellers: Messrs. H. Smith, Miners' Federation; D. Goldsbrough, Blackburn Weavers; Ben Turner, Batley Weavers; M. Flanagan, Boilermakers; H. Gosling, Thames Watermen; J. W. Eastwood, Railway Servants; H. George, Birmingham Gasworkers; and F. Kennedy, Builders' Labourers.

GENERAL PURPOSES COMMITTEE.

The following were elected to serve on the General Purposes Committee: Messrs. W. Brace, M.P., Miners' Federation; Pete Curran, M.P., National Gasworkers; J. O'Grady, M.P., Furnishing Trades; W. Marsland, Operative Cotton Spinners; and John Ward, M.P., Navvies.

SCRUTINEERS.

The following were elected Scrutineers: Messrs. D. Gilmour, Miners' Federation; Miss L. Hedges, Women Workers' Federation; J. E. Smith, National Gasworkers; A. Eidsforth, Accrington Card and Blowing Room Operatives; G. Parker, National Federation of Enginemen, Stokers, and Kindred Trades; and T. Hewitt, Boilermakers.

ELECTION OF AUDITORS.

Messrs. H. Whitehouse, Miners' Federation, and A. Smalley, Bolton Bleachers and Dyers, were elected as Auditors, there being nine candidates.

SECTIONAL GROUPING COMMITTEES.

Several additions were made to the list of Sectional Grouping Committees as presented to Congress, and was finally approved as follows:—

Mines.—J. Haslam (Convener), T. Richards, J. Wadsworth, R. Smillie, J. Hopkins, A. J. Bailey, J. Smith, W. B. Charlton, W. E. Nicholson, T. Lowth, H. Parker, T. Watson.

Amendments to Factory Acts.—J. Sexton (Convener), W. Ross, J. Anderson, H. Orbell, W. C. McStocker, W. Mullin, F. Thurston, W. Forshaw, T. Shaw, Alderman A. Gee, J. E. Smith.

Hours of Labour.—W. Thorne (Convener), T. Lowth, J. R. Clynes, J. Green, J. Jenkins, J. H. Thomas, J. Taylor, A. Wilkie, W. H. Proudler, H. Skinner, T. Griffiths, J. Havelock Wilson, M.P., J. A. Seddon, M.P.

Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration.—D. C. Cummings (Convener), R. Fitzpatrick, W. F. Dawtry, C. W. Beardsley, B. Tillett, A. Wilkie, J. Hodge, W. Mosses, J. Cuthbertson.

Questions Relating to Shops.—J. Turner, G. Thundercliffe.

Education.—W. Thorne (Convener), M. Murphy, G. Moore, W. F. Dawtry, P. Walls, J. Crinion, G. H. Roberts, M.P.

Coroners' Inquests.—G. Thaxton (Convener), G. Moore, R. Atkinson, S. W. Rowarth, J. Ramsden.

Old Age Pensions.—B. Cooper (Convener), W. C. McStocker, B. Tillett, B. Cooper, W. J. Davis, F. W. Welch, J. E. Gregory, T. Jones, T. Shaw.

Wage Questions.—J. C. Gordon (Convener), M. Flanagan, C. Ross, A. Brine, J. T. Morrison, G. Power, H. Elvin, M. Macarthur, A. Harris, J. W. Clark, C. Hickin, T. Flynn, J. Holmes, G. Rowlinson.

Unemployment.—C. W. Bowerman (Convener), F. Drummond, G. T. Jackson, J. T. Macpherson, J. Hodge, P. Curran, C. Shipley, G. H. Pearson.

Workmen's Compensation.—J. Sexton (Convener), J. Wood, H. Parker, J. Anderson, Miss M. Macarthur, W. Matkin.

Steam Engine, Boilers, and Railway Bills.—R. Bell (Convener), R. Atkinson, W. B. Charlton, J. Smith, W. H. Proudler, T. Watson, T. Humphreys, H. Parker, G. Parker, T. Lowth, P. Walls, A. Eatough, R. Shirkie.

House of Lords.—B. Cooper (Convener), J. R. Clynes, F. W. Welch.

Postal Questions.—S. W. Belderson, J. W. Clark.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The PRESIDENT was received with loud cheers on rising to deliver his inaugural address to Congress, as follows:—

FELLOW DELEGATES,

It is with great pleasure that I welcome you to this, the 41st Trades Union Congress, and sincerely trust that your deliberations will result in furthering the cause of progress and reform, which is so vital to the people we represent.

The last Trades Union Congress held in Nottingham was in the year 1883. At that Congress there were 163 delegates, representing 163 societies, and a membership of 471,651. Of these 21 were Trades Councils, with a membership of 94,166, the membership of Trade Unions being 377,485. At this annual meeting of Labour's Parliament we have 520 delegates, representing 214 societies, and a membership of 1,778,000, a rate of progress, whilst not all that could be desired, is still an indication of the power and influence of the Trade Union movement.

It is with sincere regret that we have to announce the secession of our friends, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. In the past they have done splendid work, not only for their own members, but also in the furtherance of the principles of Trade Unionism the world over. I desire to express on my own behalf, and also that of my colleagues, the deep feeling of regret we feel at the withdrawal from our councils of our friend, Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P. During the time he has been a member of the Parliamentary Committee his sterling worth and excellent advice have been invaluable, and may I express the hope that in the very near future the engineers and Mr. Barnes will be back amongst us taking their share in the great work we have in hand.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

We were able last year to congratulate you on the passing of the Trade Disputes Act and the Compensation Act, and it is my pleasure to report that Parliament has passed into law an Old Age Pension Scheme. From the first the Congress and your Committee have taken a leading part in forming public opinion on this great measure of social reform. The Act will come into operation on January 1st next, and it behoves all Trade Unions throughout the country in the meantime to see that full opportunity is taken of the power of co-opting Trade Unionists on all local Old Age Pension Committees. We represent the great mass of the working people to whom these pensions will be paid; it is therefore of the greatest importance that one or more of those who live amongst the old people shall have a seat on these Boards.

Whilst we fully recognise the great step which this Act makes, it will be our duty to work for the removal of those restrictions which apply to aged paupers and for the reduction of the age limit. Seventy years is an outside age in these days of pressure of work and speeding of machinery, and we cannot rest satisfied with a scheme which in too many cases will compel our old people to become paupers for a number of years before they can become

pensioners. If 65 is a reasonable age for the Civil Service, surely 60 is adequate for those who have so many risks attending occupations in our factories and workshops, mines, buildings, ships, and the various agricultural occupations of the country.

THE LICENSING BILL.

The great political and social measure of the session is undoubtedly the Licensing Bill. It is not necessary to approach the great problem of the drink question and its relation to everyday life as total abstainers. The representatives of the brewers themselves assert that there is "a gigantic evil to deal with," and no social reformer can be at work for one day without coming into contact with the great obstacle to social improvement, namely, the excessive drinking amongst too many of those they most desire to raise.

As a nation we must resume full control of the traffic. Recent bye-elections have shown what a great power the trade is in the State when concentrated. A proposal which reduces the number of public-houses by only one-third cannot truthfully be said to rob the workman of his beer, nor can the proposal to consult the residents of a district as to whether they want an additional public-house be considered other than democratic. This measure is not one to meet the wishes of temperance reformers, some of whom have for 50 years been giving of their time and money in the cause of uplifting their fellows. It rather appeals to the great mass of public feeling who recognise the great harm that is being done, and desire to seek a reasonable and fair remedy. That the Bill will pass the House of Commons there can be no doubt. The great question which is on everybody's lips is, what will the House of Lords do? I think I can safely say, that apart from this particular question the House of Lords as at present constituted stands condemned, and we should delight to fight the issue of Lords *v.* Commons on this or any other question. I believe the working men of this country want this Bill, and no amendments weakening its operation will be accepted. If the Lords care to raise the question of their own existence let them do so; the question will not be one of extending the time limit to the brewers, but rather the putting of a limit on their existence.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The great question of unemployment is more urgent than it has been for many years past. The latest report of the Board of Trade contained in the *Labour Gazette* for August tells us that in the month of July, in 268 Trade Unions with a net membership of 646,511, 53,163 (or 8·2 per cent.) were reported as unemployed as compared with 3·7 per cent. for the same month last year. This is a serious increase and is over 2 per cent. higher than it was in January last. We are unable to say how far these figures represent the position throughout the whole of our trades and industries, but it may be safely assumed that it is not under the mark. These figures only refer to skilled and organised trades. Unskilled and unorganised are generally assumed to be in a worse position, and if the same percentage is calculated in these trades we get a figure which calls for the serious and earnest consideration of the Government. The great amount of suffering which this condition of affairs entails on the families of these unemployed workmen demands our first attention, but the grave moral and physical deterioration that is taking place is a national question of the first importance, and I appeal to all who think well of their country to join in finding some plan by which the man or woman willing and able to work may be permitted to provide that which is required to maintain them in reasonable comfort.

I cannot help feeling that the first step to real and effective alteration must be in the direction of reducing the hours of labour of those who are in

employment. A sincere effort should be made to stop all systematic overtime. A few hours' overtime per week in a great industry means thousands going without work entirely.

The great increase in the productive power of men and machinery is often boasted about, but I am afraid sufficient attention is not paid to the effect these improvements have on those employed in that industry. A reduction in the hours of labour is necessary if we are to deal satisfactorily with the unemployed question, but this cannot be approached solely from a national point of view. To be successful it must be approached as an international question. Great improvement has taken place in Germany, France, and a few other continental countries during the past 20 years, but in the great industries we are still working less hours than they are, but I hope through the various International Trades Federations further progress may be secured.

The Bill introduced by Mr. P. W. Wilson, M.P., gave to the House of Commons and the country an idea of the remedy proposed by the Trade Union movement for this great social evil. Its defeat in the House of Commons does not close the question. It is the only measure before the country dealing with the subject, and its reception by the House was by no means disheartening. The Government recognised the great force there was behind the Bill, by securing as its chief opponents Messrs. Maddison and Vivian. When we come to realise that the Bill had the united backing of men representing both sections of Trade Union opinion in the House of Commons, the action of these two gentlemen seems inexplicable. It can only be accounted for on the assumption that they were expressing their own opinions, and that those opinions were in opposition to those held by every section representing the Trade Union and Labour movement in this country.

A Bill on similar lines must be introduced again next session. In my opinion, the "out of work," who is the most helpless member of the community, demands our first attention. The promise of the Government to deal with this subject is long overdue, and your friends in Parliament will feel keen disappointment should any further delay take place. In the meantime, the representatives of workmen on Town and County Councils should use all the powers of the present Act to alleviate the sufferings of our unfortunate brothers and sisters. I may be told that the Act is no good. My reply is, the best way to prove that statement is to make it impossible for your opponents to say full use has *not* been made of the opportunities of the present law.

THE NORTH-EAST COAST TROUBLE.

Ever since the early part of this year a trade dispute of serious import and causing great suffering to the workmen and their families has been going on on the N.E. coast. In the merits of that dispute it is not my business to enter, and I am quite content to leave these things to those who are closely concerned with them; and may I say in parenthesis that in my opinion great harm is done by writers of weekly letters in certain newspapers in criticising and giving opinions on matters which they know absolutely nothing about, giving wrong impressions to the rank and file of the trade concerned, and making it more difficult for the officials to make satisfactory settlements of grave and serious troubles?

There is, however, one great principle arising out of the N.E. trouble which in no way affects the merits of the case, and that is, what is meant by collective bargaining? It appears to me that, given that confidence which no official is any use without, the Executive Committee along with the officials should be given plenary powers. They, through their official position, must of necessity be the best informed as to what is possible at a given time. The official and executive authority should be something more than delegates, and if we are to fully realise the power of Trade Unionism we must be prepared to

place confidence in our leaders, and place them in equal position with our employers, with full power to settle.

One result of this dispute has been the demands which have been made for compulsory arbitration. It would not be fair for me to take up your time with a long reference to this subject; you will have an opportunity during the week of considering the matter. I will only ask you not to legislate in a panic; compulsion may carry you much further than you care to go, and recollect that the Trade Union movement in its early days spent much time in removing penal laws from the Statute Book, and compulsory arbitration may lead in this country, as it has done in others, to a return to those bad old days.

LABOUR UNITY.

During the year it has been my pleasure, along with my colleagues, to take part in bringing about unity in the Labour forces. It needed little encouragement to enter upon this work. We had before us the example of what united labour could do by changing the whole effect of the Trade Disputes Act and the widening the scope and operation of the Workmen's Compensation Act. With these examples before us, any man who by word or action hinders or frustrates the complete unity of action of Labour forces takes upon himself a great responsibility. Unity of thought cannot be expected, and is not desirable; without some difference of opinion there would be no progress. But whilst allowing for this, there comes a time when united, firm, and courageous action is desired. Labour forces have many times risen to this in the past, and I doubt not they will be equal to the occasion in the future. We ought so to act that in the next Parliament we shall go there under one Chairman, responding to one Whip, the recognised party representing the great Labour forces of the country.

INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENTAL CONGRESS ON LABOUR LEGISLATION.

It is now some 17 years since the Emperor of Germany convened a conference at Berlin to consider important questions affecting Labour. Since that time great progress has been made in legislation in this and other countries. The spread of International Trade Union Conferences has been one of the most striking features in the Trade Union world. We have, to-day, International Trade Union Congresses in connection with the textile workers, the miners, metal workers, shop assistants, printers, musicians, railway workers, sailors and firemen, and dock labourers. The influence of these congresses has made a change not only in the aspirations of our fellow Trade Unionists in other countries, but also in educating the public opinion in those countries.

In addition to these congresses we have also the International Association for promoting Labour Legislation, to which this Congress is affiliated through the British section. All these agencies for improvement have, in my opinion, made it necessary for another Conference to be called, representing all European Governments and also the United States of America.

I think our Government would be acting in accordance with the desires of the organised workers of this country if they took the lead, and arranged for the same to be held in London. No country can claim a monopoly of perfection. We have much to learn, and I believe Great Britain would be able to assist in framing such amendments of existing laws as would make easier the lot of those whose livelihood is obtained by daily toil. On this matter I should be glad to have the assurance that I speak with your approval.

THE RECENT WAR SCARE.

I cannot conclude without some reference to the scaremongers who for several weeks past have been trying to convince the people of this country that

Germany was on the point of sending an army of 200,000 men to invade our shores. The same class of men in Germany has been busy with similar methods, declaring that the only thing an average Britisher is thinking about at the present time is when and how we can annex Germany. Certain newspapers announce that in their next issue an article will appear from a well-known and especially well-informed writer (who has been on the spot) showing how the German army are preparing for a sudden and unseen attack on the English coast. The number of columns which have been printed of this stuff ought to have inflamed the patriotic feeling of the British people sufficient to enlist three times the number desired by Mr. Haldane for his new territorial army—an army, by the way, which is only required for home defence. On this occasion the recognised Jingo Press had the assistance of certain well-known and trusted, but, I think, misguided, friends of the Socialist movement.

No, friends, the truth is, the cause of international peace and the settlement of international differences by the common sense method of arbitration, rather than by the cruel method of war, is gaining ground amongst our people. Through the movements represented by International Co-operative Societies, the International Trade Union Congresses, and the International Socialist Congresses, a firm and immovable barrier is being built against war being considered the only settlement of our difficulties. The working men and women in all countries have much in common; the same difficulties of unemployment beset them as they beset us. Riches v. Poverty, with all its consequent social problems, is ever with them as it is here. They, like us, are beginning to see that war means delay and defeat of all that tends to raise them in comfort and influence in the state to which they belong.

It is fortunate, I think, that the Inter-Parliamentary Union is holding its meeting this year in Berlin. Some of us were privileged to attend the one held in London two years ago, and from our experience of that great Conference, great good for the cause of international peace will result.

This Congress has always stood for international peace, and, in the words of the late John Bright, we call for "the settlement of our international differences by a process which shall bring greater happiness and contentment to peoples, and shall promote and advance all that is good in the world, infinitely beyond anything that can ever be hoped for from the most glorious and bloody conflicts of armed men."

THANKS TO PRESIDENT FOR HIS ADDRESS.

Mr. J. H. THOMAS (Railway Servants) moved a vote of thanks to the President for his address, and said he thought they should, with no uncertain voice, express their highest admiration at the noble and statesmanlike utterances. Not only had the right note been struck so far as the Congress was concerned, but he had reflected with remarkable faithfulness the opinions entertained by the rank and file of the workers.

Mr. ALLEN GEE (Huddersfield Weavers) seconded the vote of thanks, and declared that the President had steered a straight, clear, and necessary line in dealing with the questions to be discussed by Congress. His references to the question of international peace had given him the greatest possible pleasure. The Continental workers had as intense a desire for peace as their English brethren, and peace would be assured if only the warmongers would keep quiet.

The PRESIDENT, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said he ought to have included the Shop Assistants' Society in his reference to the work of the International Federations for the promotion of peace among the nations.

DEMAND FOR A QUARTERLY CIRCULAR.

Mr. F. W. WELCH (Vellum Bookbinders) moved :—

This Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to issue a Quarterly Circular containing a brief account of the work of the Committee, for the general information of the members of the unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress, so as to keep them in touch with matters of importance affecting the Labour movement.

At first sight, he said, the resolution did not appear to be of very much importance; but, if worked by the Parliamentary Committee as it should be, it would have far-reaching effect. At the present time they had to be content with the Annual Report, but by the time it reached the members of the various unions affiliated to Congress the decisions set forth as to the matters disposed of were somewhat stale, and the members had lost all interest in them. They wanted the Parliamentary Committee to work on much the same lines as the ordinary Trade Unions and the Labour Party. He was well aware that the Parliamentary Committee already issued special reports, but it was done in a haphazard fashion.

Mr. J. KELLY (Bookbinders) seconded.

Mr. T. SHAW (Northern Weavers) : If this proposal is carried are we to understand that these Quarterly Reports are to be sent out to all the members?

The PRESIDENT : I take it the mover expects them to be sent out in the ordinary way to the trades for them to deal with according to their judgment.

On a show of hands, the resolution was carried by 175 to 102; and on this being challenged a vote by card resulted as follows :—

For the resolution	597,000
Against	292,000
Majority for.....	305,000

In connection with this vote, an interesting point arose with respect to the cards of the Miners' Federation, which had been accepted by the Tellers as against the resolution, although they had not been shown when the vote was taken. On being appealed to, the President decided that the votes thus recorded against the resolution (over 500,000) must be disallowed, as no voting cards could be acknowledged that were not shown. He further informed the delegates that the effect of the loss of the votes on the present decision should be a lesson to them not to allow one man to carry all the cards about with him, as his absence from the hall at the critical moment took the voting power away from the union concerned.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS FROM AMERICA.

The PRESIDENT read the following telegram which had been received from Washington :—

Workers of America send fraternal greetings to Congress to workers of Great Britain for unity, solidarity, and human freedom. GOMPERTS.

SOCIETY'S CREDENTIALS CANCELLED.

Mr. W. BRACE, M.P. (Chairman of the General Purposes Committee), read the following report from that body : Having carefully investigated the protest entered by the Variety Artists' Federation against the Artists' Protection League, and having heard both sides upon the question, the General Purposes Committee unanimously decide to recommend Congress to cancel the credentials of the latter society, as upon the balance sheet produced of the Artists' Protection League they have no alternative but to conclude that it is not a *bona-fide* Trade Union.

Congress agreed to the recommendation without discussion, and then adjourned until Tuesday morning.

SECOND DAY.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 9-30, and the minutes of the previous day's proceedings were read and confirmed.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The following is the Report of the Parliamentary Committee, discussion of which proceeded page by page:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

In presenting to you our 41st Annual Report, we do so with satisfaction, for although the Trade Disputes Bill and Compensation for Accidents Act were dealt with last year, your Parliamentary Committee have been actively engaged in dealing with other matters on your behalf, as this report will show. The Parliamentary session not being over for the year, it was adjourned on August 1st to meet again on October 12th, when other Bills, such as the Miners' Eight Hours Day, Licensing Bill, Housing Bill, and a few other smaller measures will come up for final settlement. One of the first things that your Committee did after the Bath Congress was to send a circular round to all the trades in support of the abolition of overtime, which was unanimously agreed upon by the Bath Congress. They then turned their attention to the question of

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

At the Bath Trades Union Congress your Committee were instructed to initiate a vigorous campaign throughout the country during the winter months with a view of securing the immediate solution of this urgent social problem. Accordingly, at their first meeting in October after the Congress, your Committee made arrangements to hold meetings in eight of the largest towns in the United Kingdom in the month of November, where possible, in order to bring before the notice of the Cabinet, when considering their plans for the 1908 session, the demand for this reform. The local Trades Councils were communicated with, and their help invited to make the meetings a success, and your Committee here take the opportunity of again thanking them for the support which was in every case cordially rendered. The Labour Party was likewise requested to ask their local Representation Committees to co-operate in organising the meetings. Two members of your Committee were appointed to speak at each meeting. The following are the names of the towns selected and the places where the meetings were held:—

November 10th, 1907.....	Manchester	Free Trade Hall
November 14th, 1907.....	Dundee	Gilfillan Memorial Hall
November 17th, 1907.....	Leeds	Empire Theatre
November 18th, 1907.....	Birmingham	Town Hall
November 19th, 1907.....	Newport (Mon.)	Temperance Hall
December 3rd, 1907	Newcastle-on-Tyne...	Town Hall
December 18th, 1907.....	London.....	Memorial Hall
January 3rd, 1908	Dublin	Ancient Concert Rooms

These meetings proved a great success. The following resolution, drawn up by your Committee, was agreed to at each meeting and forwarded to the Prime Minister:—

Resolved—That, inasmuch as the question of old-age pensions has been prominently before the country for many years, and that at the recent General Election the great majority of the present members of Parliament definitely pledged themselves to support a pension scheme, this meeting expresses its disappointment at the failure of the Government to establish such scheme during the past session of Parliament, and condemns them for surrendering national income by relieving income tax payers during the present year of taxation which might and should have been devoted to pension

purposes. This meeting, therefore, demands from the Government the introduction, during the forthcoming session, of a scheme of old-age pensions as a national duty to the citizens of the country.

As is known, the King's Speech mentioned that old-age pensions would be part of the Government's programme, but at a deputation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on January 30th, 1908, your Committee brought the subject again before this Minister, and urged him to frame his promised scheme on the lines of the resolutions passed from time to time by the Trades Union Congress.

The reply then of Mr. Asquith was as follows :—

"As regarded old age pensions, the King's Speech announced for the first time in English politics that it was part of the programme, and in the forefront of the programme of Parliament. There was going to be an attempt—he would not say more, as he wished to use the most modest language—to start a really practical scheme. In regard to what Mr. Bell said as to the scheme being non-contributory, he adhered to what he had said already—that he did not think a scheme could be founded on what was called a contributory basis, either optional or compulsory, which would be satisfactory to the people of this country or to the necessities of the case. He had read, only the day before, an admirable speech made in the House of Commons in 1899 by Mr. Chamberlain, in which he pointed out the overwhelming objections to the contributory method of dealing with the matter, to which, let them remember, he was one of the pioneers in calling public attention. If they wanted any further buttress to their case on that point, they would find in that speech an extremely strong one. As to the rest, he kept silence for the moment, but took note of what Mr. Bell had said."

On the 7th May last Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, brought in his Budget, which included a scheme of old age pensions, and as the subject is one which the Trades Union Congress has discussed and kept before the public for many years, and is of such paramount importance to the workers generally, we may perhaps be excused for quoting the portion of the Prime Minister's speech dealing specifically with this question :—

"OLD AGE PENSIONS.

"Now I come to questions (continued the Premier) of greater general interest. Last year, in introducing the Budget, I said that this Parliament and this Government had come here pledged to social reform, and I pointed to figures in our modern society which made a specially strong and irresistible appeal not only to our sympathy, but to something more practical—sympathy translated into a concrete and constructive policy of social and financial effort. I reminded the House that in less than 40 years, since 1870, you have added to your annual provision for the education of the children of this country out of rates and taxes something over 24 millions. The other figures related to old age, still unprovided for except by casual and unorganised funds, or by what is worse, an invidious dependence upon Poor Law relief. I said then we hoped and intended this year to lay the firm foundation of a wiser and more humane policy, and with that view I set aside one and a-half millions, which was temporarily applied to the reduction of debt, and I anticipated another £750,000, which, through the activity of the Inland Revenue, has been swept into the sinking fund of last year.

"I propose now to show how we intend to redeem the promise I then made. I need not remind the Committee that this question, in one shape or another, has been before the country now for the best part of 30 years.

"Other countries have in the meantime been making experiments. The German system, which is one of compulsory State-aided insurance, has been in existence since 1889. Under it pensions averaging a little over £6 13s. a year are paid to assured persons of the age of 70 and over. The State contribution amounts to less than 40 per cent. of the whole, and in 1907 not more

than 126,000 persons, out of a population of 52 millions, were in receipt of old-age pensions.

"More instruction for our purpose is to be derived from the legislation initiated in Denmark in 1891, in New Zealand in 1898, and subsequently in New South Wales and Victoria. These systems, though differing in detail, have several important features in common. First, they do not depend for their application either upon voluntary or compulsory contribution on the part of the pensioner.

"His Majesty's Government came into power and went through the last General Election entirely unpledged in regard to this matter. Not that they were insensible of its importance or its urgency, but they felt it right to enter into no binding engagement till they had full time to survey the problem in all its aspects, and, what is more important, of laying a solid foundation for any future structure.

"We have considered the matter carefully, and the first conclusion to which we arrive, as to which I do not think there will be any really serious difference of opinion, is that all so-called contributory schemes must be ruled out. They do not meet the necessities of the case. If the contribution which is to be the condition of a pension is to be left to the option of the would-be pensioner, with the assistance of the State, it would be confined to a comparatively small class, and that not by any means necessarily the most necessitous or the most deserving. On the other hand, if it were sought to make the contribution compulsory there is no practical machinery in this country by which it could be worked, and you would certainly have to face the hostility of many other bodies, such as Trade Unions, friendly societies, insurance companies, etc.

"The next scheme was the universal scheme associated with the name of Mr. Charles Booth, but this is also out of the range of practical politics. The working parts of such a scheme are problematical, because no one knows how many persons would claim pensions. The cost would vary—according as the age is 70 or 65—from 16 to something over 27 millions. These figures are absolutely prohibitive. It is in any case a certain thing that under such schemes pensions would probably be claimed and received by persons who do not need them. The obligation to provide pensions must be as between the State and the pensioners. It must rest on the Treasury, and not on any local authority. It follows, therefore, that the scheme must be based upon some kind of discrimination, by which I mean that the party applying must possess certain qualifying conditions.

Our proposals, which are framed with a view to subsequent development, are as follow:—

"First, the income limit should be fixed at £26 a year, subject to reduction from £52 to £39 in the case of married people living together.

"Secondly, we think the age limit should—in the first instance, at any rate, and for the purpose of our present proposals—be fixed at 70.

"Thirdly, the amount of the pension will be £13 a year, and in the case of married couples living together £9 15s. per head.

"Fourthly, effective provisions should be provided, though not of an inquisitorial or persecuting kind, for forfeiture or suspicion, following in the main those which prevail in New Zealand.

"The pension officer will be an excise officer, for they are the class of men best fitted for this kind of work. We hope to come to an arrangement with the local authorities in regard to the collection of what are called the establishment licences, which will set these excise officers free during part of their time for the purpose of pension duties. If the pension authority and the pension officer agree, there is an end of the matter, and the pension is granted. If there is a difference of opinion there must be an appeal, and we think the appeal should be to the Local Government Board, or to some officer appointed

by them. As soon as his application is granted the pensioner will receive a pension certificate with a book of monthly or weekly coupons, which will be payable to him at the post office. The pension, of course, will be inalienable and incapable of being changed, and will be payable only to the pensioner or those authorised by him to receive it.

"As to the cost, we think it safe to assume that the maximum number of actual pensioners will not exceed 500,000, and that the cost is not likely to exceed, but will fall somewhere short of, £6,000,000 yearly. As it will take time and much adjustment of detail to get the necessary machinery into order, no scheme could be brought into operation until 1st January next, and as even then it will not be in what I may call full blast, I estimate the charge on the current financial year at not more than £1,200,000.

"I am aware that in laying these proposals before Parliament they will be assailed on different lines of attack. They will be assailed on the one hand by some of my hon. friends for not going far enough. They will tell me that the income limit is too low, the age limit too high, and perhaps that the conditions are more stringent than is needed, though they are less stringent than in any system now in actual working order. Our reply is that we make by this scheme immediate provision for something like half-a-million aged persons who are at present dependent either on the precarious charity of relatives, or on Poor Law relief, with its humiliation and disqualification.

"On the other hand, it may be said that this is a Socialistic experiment, discouraging thrift, the inauguration, I have seen it described in some quarters, of the policy of doles and largesses which was fatal to Rome; the first step on an inclined plane of which no one can see the bottom. Our reply to that is that if this is Socialism, it is Socialism of a kind for which both parties in this country have made themselves responsible. It stands in our view in principle on precisely the same footing as the free education of children. As for the well-worn metaphor of the inclined plane, it is enlisted against every effort to achieve reform by experiments and instalments, and I need not dwell upon that.

PENSIONS AND PROTECTION.

"Perhaps the most singular of all the objections which have been made by way of anticipation to our proposals is that they involve not only a plunge into Socialism, but a return to Protection. Old age pensions, I see in some much esteemed quarters, are represented as the inevitable forerunner of Tariff Reform. I do not know whether I am suspect in this matter, and whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer is suspect. I can only repeat what I said last year, that I would not buy even such a boon as this for the veteran and worn-out workers of this country at the cost of Free Trade."

At their meeting on the 13th May, your Committee discussed the scheme of the Government and adopted the following resolution, which was sent to the Press and the Prime Minister:—

Resolved—That the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee approve the non-contributory scheme of old age pensions and the amount of the pension to be granted. They cannot, however, agree to the limitations in regard to the income of the pensioners. They believe, in conformity with the proposals adopted from time to time by the Trades Union Congress, that the scheme should be universal, and that the age limit should be lowered so as ultimately, in the very near future, to reach the age of 60 years, as proposed by the Trades Union Congress. Whilst it may not be possible in the present Session of Parliament to bring the scheme into conformity with the decisions of the organised workers, arrived at from time to time at their various Conferences, they are of opinion that a definite effort should be made to remove the income limit, or, if such is not possible, to considerably increase the limit.

Later, the Bill of the Government was introduced, and in view of its many defects your Committee at their June meeting decided to issue the following statement to the Press. A copy was likewise sent to the Prime Minister:—

"In considering the scheme of Old Age Pensions introduced by the Government, your Committee have reviewed the series of resolutions passed

upon the subject at a specially-convened Conference, held in accordance with the instructions of the Swansea Congress, and which took place in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on January 14th and 15th, 1902, and was attended by representatives of Trade Unions and co-operative and friendly societies.

"The first resolution passed at that Conference declared in favour of a non-contributory scheme, and your Committee express satisfaction that this principle should have been embodied in the Government's Bill.

"With regard to the amount of the pension, the Conference unanimously decided that the sum should be at least 5s. per week, and upon this point also your Committee welcome the proposal of the Government; but they entirely fail to understand why, in the case of two entitled persons living together, the pension should be at the reduced rate of 3s. 9d. each per week, and cannot accept as satisfactory the reason given by the Government that this reduction is warranted by considerations of 'household economy.'

"Unanimity also prevailed at that Conference in favour of an age limit of 60 years, and your Committee regret that the Government should have embodied in their Bill the unreasonably high age limit of 70 years.

"A strong claim made at the Conference of 1902 was that the expenditure involved in the establishment of a scheme of old age pensions should in the main be met out of Imperial taxation, and the decision of the Government to meet the cost entirely out of Imperial funds will, therefore, be received with satisfaction.

"Your Committee regret that the Bill should attempt to discriminate as to questions of character and employment, which will necessarily tend to create invidious distinctions, and give pension committees the power to make inquisitorial demands upon pension applicants; but in this connection your Committee welcome the declarations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that membership of a Trade Union or friendly or other thrift society will be accepted as sufficient evidence of character, thereby ensuring receipt of a pension without the applicant being subjected to an inquisitorial examination at the hands of the pension committee.

"With reference to the proposed income limit embodied in the Government's scheme, your Committee feel strongly that its retention in the Bill will inflict considerable injustice upon a very large number of thrifty workmen whose weekly income from savings combined with their trade and friendly societies' superannuation benefit will place them outside the scope of the measure should the Government decide to adhere to their suggested income limitation.

"Your Committee also regret that those persons at present in receipt of Poor Law relief, but who otherwise would be eligible to receive the pension, should be excluded from the provisions of the scheme, and they trust that the Government may see their way, during the Committee stages of the Bill, to remove this serious blot upon what is in some other respects an excellent and satisfactory measure of constructive legislation.

"Your Committee welcome the proposal that the pensions are to be paid through other agencies than those connected with the Poor Law, and congratulate the Government upon having selected the Post Office as being the most suitable and agreeable channel.

"No question has more fully or consistently engaged the attention of the Trades Union Congress during the past 20 years than that of old age pensions, and considerable enthusiasm in its support was aroused throughout the country during the past winter by the successful campaign carried out by your Committee under the instructions of last year's Congress; and your Committee cannot but express their satisfaction that the principle should have

been accepted by the State, and a scheme brought forward which, should it not in its final shape and in all its details prove fully satisfactory, may in the course of time be brought more into harmony with the needs and necessities of the workers of the country.

“D. J. SHACKLETON, Chairman.
W. C. STEADMAN, Secretary.”

During the debates in the House your Committee, through their representatives, used their utmost endeavours to get the Bill altered to include the above-mentioned reforms, and succeeded in getting one or two important amendments carried.

For instance, the provision was eliminated from the original Bill stipulating that 3s. 9d. instead of 5s. each should be paid in cases where two or more persons lived together in the same house. The original Bill also disqualified for pensions those in receipt of Poor Law relief after the 1st January, 1908, while the amended Bill limited this disqualification to the 31st December, 1910. Finally, the Bill passed its Third Reading in the House of Commons on Thursday, July 9th, 1908, by a majority of 305, ten voting for and 315 against the rejection of the measure. On Monday, July 20th, 1908, the House of Lords read the Old Age Pensions Bill, as passed by the Commons, a second time, defeating a hostile amendment by 123 votes to 16.

The consideration in Committee of the Old Age Pensions Bill took place on July 28th, 1908. An amendment by Lord Cromer limiting the operation of the Act to December 31st, 1915, was moved, and on a division was carried by 77 against 45. A second amendment providing that pensioners should not suffer by the expiry of the Act, was agreed to. Many other amendments were also discussed.

The Bill was then sent back to the Commons, who disagreed with the Lord's amendments, and the Bill received the Royal assent on August 1st, 1908.

As passed, the Bill provides that where the yearly means of the pensioner does not exceed £21, a pension of 5s. per week shall be payable; over £21, but not exceeding £23 12s. 6d., 4s. per week; over £23 12s. 6d., but not exceeding £26 5s., 3s. per week; beyond £26 5s., but not exceeding £28 17s. 6d., 2s. per week; and 1s. per week where the income is over £28 17s. 6d., but does not exceed £31 10s., beyond which income no pension is payable.

Although far from satisfactory, the measure is at least the most important attempt to grapple with the problem of old age that has hitherto been made in this country, and as such we accept it. In the meantime every effort must be made at the earliest opportunity to amend the Bill and bring it more into line with the principles agreed to by the Trades Union Congress for years past.

LABOUR UNITY.

In pursuance of the decision on this question arrived at at the Bath Trades Union Congress, the following communications were sent to the two groups in the House of Commons, addressed to Messrs. A. Henderson, M.P., and E. Edwards, M.P., respectively:—

London, W.C., March 4th, 1908.

Enoch Edwards, Esq., M.P., Chairman of Trade Union Group.

Dear Mr. Edwards,—You are well aware that as a result of a resolution passed at the Trades Union Congress of 1906 suggesting the convening of a Conference of representatives of the sections of the Labour movement, “with the object of securing perfect political unity of action in the country and the House of Commons on strict independent lines,” a joint sub-committee was appointed last year to take the question

into consideration, with the view of endeavouring to bring about the result desired by Congress and by all interested in the cause of Labour representation.

The beneficial effect of co-operation between all Labour members in the House had been conspicuously apparent in the cases of the Trade Disputes Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act, each measure meeting with their combined support.

Unfortunately, however, although the question was very fully considered by the joint sub-committee and certain suggestions formulated as a basis of negotiation were discussed in a friendly spirit, no agreement was found to be possible.

The report (of which you have received a copy) presented by my Committee upon this subject to the delegates attending the Congress held in Bath in September last led to a most important and interesting discussion, the tone and spirit of which was all that could be desired, and was distinctly calculated to further the object Congress had in view; and it was left to the Parliamentary Committee to continue its good offices in the hope of eventually bringing the two parties together.

During the discussion, representative members of each group strongly advocated the setting up of a working concordat which each section might recognise, thereby enabling Labour to speak with an even stronger and more united voice than is the case at present. The speeches delivered on that occasion, and the hearty and unanimous endorsement with which they were received by the delegates encourage my Committee in entertaining the earnest hope that another conference may be the means of securing that friendly working understanding so essential to the best interests of the Labour movement.

With this desirable object in view, I am desired by my Committee to write you and to express the hope that you and your colleagues may agree to reappoint representatives to meet a similar number of representatives from the Labour Party Group and the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee. Upon hearing from you that this course meets with approval, my Committee will be pleased to convene a meeting of such sub-committee at a time and place convenient to all concerned.

Yours faithfully,

W. C. STEADMAN.

A communication, couched in almost similar terms, and under same date, was addressed to Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Chairman of the Labour Party.

As a result of these letters the two groups duly appointed representatives, as indicated in the following communications:—

March 17th, 1908.

Dear Mr. Steadman,—I beg to inform you that Messrs. J. Ward and W. Brace have been appointed to meet your representatives and the representatives of the L.R.C. on the question of closer association in the House of Commons.

I am, yours truly,

C. FENWICK.

9th March, 1908.

Dear Steadman,—Your letter of the 4th inst. to Mr. Henderson was placed before a meeting of the Labour Party, and the Chairman, Mr. Henderson, and the Vice-chairman, Mr. Barnes, were appointed to represent the Party at any future meetings which may be held in continuation of those held last year.

Yours very sincerely,

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

On receipt of these communications your Committee appointed their chairman, Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., and Mr. W. J. Davis, J.P., to act in conjunction with the appointed representatives of the two groups to arrange the Conference suggested, and the following letter was addressed to Mr. C. Fenwick, M.P., Secretary of the Trade Union Group, a similar communication being forwarded to Mr. J. R. MacDonald, Secretary of the Labour Party:—

London, W.C., 20th March, 1908.

C. Fenwick, Esq., M.P., Secretary of Trade Union Group.

Dear Mr. Fenwick,—It is with considerable satisfaction and pleasure that my Committee acknowledge the ready manner in which you and your colleagues have responded to the unanimous desire expressed at the last Trades Union Congress that a further

W. C. STEADMAN.

“ That the Labour Party and the Trade Union Labour Group agree that their members shall in no way oppose sitting members of the Labour Party or Trade Union Labour Group, or candidates endorsed by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the committee of the Labour Party, or the Trade Union Labour Group.”

I am hopeful that this amended clause will be acceptable to all parties, and would suggest that you, as the convener of the first meeting, lay the same before the representatives of the Labour Party for their ratification or otherwise.

Yours fraternally,

JOHN WARD.

Your Committee at their meeting in May discussed this proposed amendment, and decided to recommend that the arrangement suggested by the Conference be adhered to, *i.e.*, that no opposition should be offered to candidates endorsed by the two national bodies or either the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee.

The following statement was subsequently issued by the sub-committee dealing with the question:—

“ We have had two meetings of the sub-committee and given full consideration to the suggested amendment by the Trade Union Group. At our first meeting the matter was adjourned, and Mr. Shackleton took the opportunity of consulting his colleagues on the Parliamentary Committee (who were holding their ordinary meeting). They decided they could not accept the proposed alteration, it being, in their opinion, essential that every candidate should be in a position to receive the endorsement of either the National Labour Party (28, Victoria Street) or the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress.

“ And therefore it is hoped the Trade Union group will not press for the right to endorse candidates as a group.

“ D. J. SHACKLETON,
A. HENDERSON,
WILLIAM BRACE.”

This statement was duly considered by the Trade Union Group, and on the 17th June the following letter was received:—

June 17th, 1908.

Dear Steadman,—I am instructed to inform you that, after full consideration the Trade Union Labour Group in the House have agreed by majority to the following as a basis of agreement between themselves and the members of Labour Party:—

1. That monthly meetings of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Group be held each Parliamentary Session, and that special meetings be held as agreed upon by the officials of the respective groups.

2. That the Labour Party and the Trade Union Group agree that their members shall in no way oppose sitting members of the Labour Party or Trade Union Group or candidates endorsed by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and by the Executive of the Labour Party.

This arrangement we hope will have the effect of consolidating the forces of the working classes both inside and outside Parliament, and will pave the way to a complete understanding.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN WARD, Joint Group Secretary.

The first meeting of the two Groups was convened by your Committee, and took place in the House of Commons on July 7th, 1908, Mr. D. J. Shackleton presiding.

At this meeting, it was decided to have no permanent officials, except joint secretaries, to which offices Messrs. J. Ward and J. R. MacDonald were appointed. A chairman is to be elected for each monthly meeting, to be chosen alternately from the two sections.

Your Committee feel considerable satisfaction in placing the above report before Congress, and in congratulating the delegates and the Labour movement generally upon the ultimate success which has crowned the efforts of Congress in its endeavours to secure united action on the part of the Labour forces in the House of Commons.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The following is the statement of evidence as to unemployment sent by your Committee to the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws :—

We believe that the following are the chief causes of unemployment :—

1. The absence of the organisation of Labour. Goods are produced for profit irrespective of demand, the consequence being that there is, at points, over-production, which in turn leads to confusion and displacement. This evil is intensified by the increased introduction of labour-saving machinery without adequate reduction of hours of labour or increased remuneration of the workers. Moreover, as an effect of this new machinery, youths at lower rates of wages are substituted for skilled craftsmen, thus decreasing the economic efficiency of Labour, and consequently the area of employment.

2. The absence of proper training, and the consequent helplessness of a large number of the industrial population.

3. The absence of any attempt to regulate the distribution of work so as to maintain employment at an even level, thereby causing alternate periods of rush and stagnation; coupled with this, the discharge of young men on attaining a certain age.

4. The long, continued, and systematic overtime prevailing in many trades.

5. The migration of young men from the country into towns in consequence of the non-cultivation of the land.

EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

The principal effects of unemployment on the workmen are :—

1. Loss of spending power, due to poverty.
2. Physical deterioration.
3. Moral deterioration.

REMEDIAL PROPOSALS.

Inasmuch as unemployment cannot be controlled by the individual workman, and that through the State he has been deprived of the right to provide sustenance for himself other than in the ways indicated by law and order, we believe the obligation rests with the State to provide a remedy to meet the evil.

Our suggestions are :—

1. That under normal conditions the Government be urged to regulate the distribution of work under its jurisdiction, so that the necessity to discharge workmen will be obviated.

2. That the principle of regulating the distribution of work with the object as stated in Clause 1, be urged by the Government upon all public bodies and recommended to private firms.

3. That the practice of working overtime be generally discountenanced.

4. That workmen should be encouraged to join Trade Unions as a means of increasing their wages, and thereby increasing their effective demand for commodities.

5. The State should set up local unemployment authorities to establish registers for the unemployed in their respective areas, such authorities to provide suitable work, as far as is practicable, for those who sign the register. Authorities formed to be fully representative of the various interests involved. Commissioners should be appointed by the Local Government Board to advise the local unemployment authorities, whose expenses should be paid by the

Treasury, the same body to provide means for the payment of the work done, under certain conditions.

6. There should also be organic changes in the utilisation of land and the incidence of taxation connected therewith.

7. Some better provision should be made for those advanced in years. With the speeding up of industry, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the old to keep up the pace. This provision ought to be made quite apart from the Poor Law. A great deal has already been done in this direction through the agencies of Trade Unions, of which details will be given.

8. Moneys should not be spent in emigration to distant countries, but rather in migration in our own country.

9. Labour farms and colonies might be used temporarily as training establishments, and men passed on from them to small holdings.

UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN BILL.

The members of the two Groups in the House of Commons being unsuccessful in the ballot, Mr. P. W. Wilson, the member for South Pancras, who had secured a day for the debate, was kind enough to take charge of the Unemployed Workmen Bill, promoted by the Trade Unions.

In moving the Second Reading of this Bill,

Mr. P. W. Wilson said that he had been influenced to take up this Bill by three simple considerations. In the first place, this problem was a national problem and was long overdue; in the second place, it would not be disposed of by a pretence of forgetting it; and, in the third place, if there were perplexity, it was better to seek some solution in the comparative quiet of a Friday afternoon than to go back year after year to the constituencies with apologies on the lips. Criticism of existing methods of dealing with the difficulty was a part of the case for the Bill. The Distress Committee of Glasgow reported that the Act of 1905 had altogether failed to benefit the class of persons specially aimed at, but that the Act, by amplification, might be made most beneficial. While indirect methods of dealing with this problem by improving the general health of the body politic were commendable, yet such special maladies must be met on their own ground. An investigation into the circumstances of unemployment in Newcastle had revealed the fact that to a large extent the causes were economic as well as moral, and that even in prosperous times there must be a permanent margin of unoccupied labour. The Act of 1905 recognised the duty of society as a whole to the unemployed man. The President of the Board of Trade, when he discussed the Bill of 1905, said that it recognised the right of a man to call upon the State to provide him with work, and the State recognised the right, but did not provide the work. The right hon. gentleman added that that Bill was like a motor car without petrol, and he was not afraid to wish that its object had been enlarged. He would remind the House, too, of the King's Speech of 1906. The grant of £200,000 showed that the present Government loyally endorsed the Act of 1905. It was a policy to which both sides of the House were committed. The working classes had done all they could to deal with unemployment in their own ranks; but, so far from being helped in this great task by the State, the State mulcted them of the particular funds devoted to this purpose. It was at the request of members on his own side of the House, without the slightest reference to the suspects on the Labour benches that he had taken up this Bill.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who seconded the motion, argued that legislation of this kind must follow the acceptance of the Bill of 1905, which held out to the unemployed for the first time the expectation of State employment. Parliament could not now refuse to endorse the principle that work must be found by hook or by crook for honest men and women who, on the faith of the expectations raised by the Bill of 1905, were registering their names for work. Some members of the Liberal Party fancied they heard the rumble of the tumbrel of Socialism. They imagined fateful results from this labour demand. Their fears were, of course, exaggerated, but if the *sans culottes* had been led to the bombardment of the Bastille, it was Mr. Long who was primarily responsible. Under present conditions society had to assist the poverty-stricken after they had entered the sombre portals of the workhouse. Why, he asked, should society not do this earlier? The cost involved would not exceed that of one "Dreadnought" annually, and the result achieved would be infinitely more useful to the nation, for if we permitted the evil of unemployment

to fester in our midst we should have to pay the heavy price of a lowered national vitality. A man in need of work might be assisted permanently by training him on the land or temporarily in other ways.

Mr. Maddison moved as an amendment: "That this House, while ready to consider any practical proposal for dealing with the evil of unemployment, cannot entertain a measure which, by wasting the resources of the nation, would throw out of work more persons than it could assist, and would destroy the power of organised labour, but hopes that the Government will give immediate consideration to the recommendations as to unemployment in the forthcoming report of the Poor Law Commission." The hon. member censured Socialist members for telling the people that there was a way by which everybody could get work. They were pandering to the thoughtless and thriftless. The Socialist formula of the right to work, as embodied in this Bill, was mischievous. What was the work to be? The Socialists fell back on their ruinous, disastrous land schemes; but there was no greater fallacy than to suppose that to cultivate land no skill was required. He was a compositor, and were he in want of employment he would rather go to gaol than go on the land. The laughter which his declaration caused having died down, he proceeded to point out that the recognition of a right to work must be followed by State control of the lives of men. This a freedom-loving people would never consent to. There was a rich domain of social reform on which that House might enter with safety and advantage, but it must not be confused with the treacherous morass of State Socialism, that grave of individual liberty and of national strength.

Mr. Vivian seconded the amendment, and argued that one effect of the Bill would be to intensify the evil which it was intended to remedy, for it would necessitate the employment of many paid officials, and for this expenditure money would have to be withdrawn from the fund now available for the remuneration of productive labour. To pass the measure would be to trifle with their responsibilities as legislators.

Mr. Burns began a vigorous defence of the Government by repudiating the charge that they had done nothing for the poor. Why, they had done so much that cries were being raised that they were threatening the rich man's monopolies and were exalting fustian and corduroy above the tall hat and frock coat. As to this problem of unemployment, he had devoted every hour he could to it, and he thought they were now at close grips with it. The solution was not hindered by want of money. In no other country of the world was so much money devoted to the relief of the poor; nowhere else did so many men and women interest themselves so wholeheartedly in the lot of those less well off than they. These affirmations were not well received by the supporters of the Bill, and one of them interrupted the right hon. gentleman, ejaculating "Humbug." Proceeding, the President of the Local Government Board reminded the House that the Act of 1905 was passed in a hurry, and he adjured members not to commit the folly of passing the measure before them in a still greater hurry. It was not true to say that the motor-car started in 1905 still lacked petrol; it had been provided. The Bill was being administered generously. Surely before undertaking new legislation they should wait for the report of the Poor Law Commission? What was the kind of work which the Labour Party wanted for the unemployed? The same that he was providing now at Hollesley Bay and elsewhere. The work at Hollesley Bay had cost in four years £100,000, and the annual net loss had been £22,000, and this Bill would throw upon local authorities the responsibility of providing relief works of this kind! Mr. Burns went on. There were bitter complaints of the competition of farm colonies with the local farmers and market gardeners. Citing figures, he showed how costly the farm colonies were and how unsatisfactory the results, and then, addressing himself to the question whether local authorities desired this enlargement of the law, he stated that the resolutions sent to him in support of the Bill were ridiculously few. If every local authority was to be compelled either to employ every unemployed man and woman at Trade Union rates of wages or to provide maintenance, the lanes in every country district would be black with men on their way to towns and cities where the minimum rates of wages were higher than those to which they were accustomed. That would lead to a condition of things under which the lot of the poor in the great cities would be infinitely worse than it was now. Having adduced other cogent reasons for opposing the Bill, he declared that it could not be amended satisfactorily.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer declined to discuss any of the provisions of the Bill except the third clause, which was the pith of it, and without which it would be a mere boneless, bloodless structure. That clause contained an entirely novel principle, which would ultimately render necessary the complete control by the State of the whole machinery of production, and which, far from solving the problem of unemployment, would vastly aggravate it. He was not satisfied with the existing machinery for dealing with the problem, but it was one that could not be solved without a consideration of causes as well as remedies. It was an economic difficulty, due to the fact that there was in this country a chronic condition of intermittent employment on the one hand and of casual labour on the other. It was admitted that the State must step in to supplement the individual and communal efforts

which had hitherto failed to deal effectively with this evil; but he could not pledge himself to any particular application of that principle until he had satisfied himself that it would do more good than harm. It was the earnest desire of the Government to devise, after consideration of the Poor Law Commission's report, some practical means for dealing with this urgent problem. For the moment the issue was this—Was that House going to recognise for the first time this principle of the right to work and duty to provide work? If accepted, it would be more prejudicial to the workers themselves than to any other class of the community.

Mr. A. Henderson, Chairman of the Labour Party, was of opinion that they had a right to expect from the Liberal Government more than they were getting that afternoon. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's sympathy was insufficient. The Government disliked both Protection and Socialism. By the rejection of this measure those causes would be assisted.

On a division the Bill was thrown out by 265 votes against 116—majority, 149. The amendment was afterwards carried by 241 votes against 95.

This subject was again discussed at the meeting of the joint board on the 17th March, 1908, when it was unanimously resolved to thank Mr. P. W. Wilson, M.P., for introducing the Bill.

THE BELFAST DISPUTE.

At the Bath Congress, after an animated debate, it was decided to instruct the Parliamentary Committee to urge upon the Government the great necessity which had arisen to hold a searching inquiry into the facts and circumstances leading up to the death of the two persons who were shot by the military forces in Belfast on August 13th, 1907.

Your Committee communicated this decision to the Prime Minister, and asked if an inquiry had been held.

The following is a copy of the reply received :—

10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.,
February 11th, 1908.

Dear Mr. Steadman,—I am desired by the Prime Minister to say, in reply to your letter of the 5th instant, that he has been in communication with the War Office, and that he understands that no inquiry was held into the facts and circumstances leading up to the death of two persons during the disturbances in Belfast in August last beyond the coroner's inquest. This was held by the City Coroner of Belfast, and lasted from the 2nd to the 4th of September, and the proceedings were published at the time.

Yours faithfully,

HUBERT MONTGOMERY.

On the 5th March, 1908, on the occasion of the debate on the Army, on the motion for going into Supply,

Mr. Wardle, M.P., moved an amendment asking the House to declare that the powers now vested in chief magistrates to call upon the War Office to supply troops during trade disputes were open to grave abuse, and ought to be inquired into and reported on by a Parliamentary Committee.

During the debate that took place on the subject, the Home Secretary said that the Government had no objection at all to the appointment of a Committee so that the law which was at present obscure might be made more explicit.

Accordingly on Monday, 18th May, the Government Whip gave notice of motion in regard to the employment of military in cases of disturbance :—

That a Select Committee be appointed (1) to inquire into the powers possessed by civil authorities to obtain military aid in the suppression of disturbance, and to consider whether those powers ought to be subjected to any and what modification or restriction; (2) further, to inquire into the duties and responsibilities now attaching to military officers in these cases, and to consider whether it is expedient that these duties and responsibilities should be further defined.

That the following be members of the Committee: Sir Frederick Banbury, Mr. Chance, Mr. Devlin, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Lamont, Mr. Paulton, Mr. Albert Stanley, Mr. Middlebrook, and Mr. Pete Curran.

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

That three be the quorum.

In the report issued by this Committee the following recommendations were made :—

“(a) That the Secretary of State should be empowered, on the application of a Chief Constable, to requisition from any County Police Force, a proportion not exceeding 10 per cent. of the number of such force, and to direct their immediate transference to any district where their presence is deemed desirable by reason of the occurrence or apprehension of disturbance, and that the men so requisitioned should be available to be employed on duty in any district without having to be sworn in for that purpose.”

“(b) That the Secretary of State should afford to Chief Constables further powers of enlisting additional men into the County Police Force for temporary purposes, under suitable regulations.”

“(c) That all inducements should be given to Police Authorities to make provision, as far as possible, with due regard to financial considerations, for the maintenance of a mounted force, and to utilise, temporarily or otherwise, the services of available men who have knowledge of cavalry and yeomanry duties.”

THE MENACE OF SWEATED INDUSTRIES.

At the last Congress it was agreed :—

“That this Congress, believing that the low rate of wages in sweated industries is a constant menace to organised trades, calls upon the Government to promote legislation to establish a legal minimum wage in selected trades, on the lines suggested in the Sweated Industries Bill introduced into Parliament by Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P.”

On the 21st February, 1908, Mr. Toulmin, the member for Bury, introduced the Sweated Industries Bill

This Bill is a practical effort to deal with the scandals in the tailoring, dress-making, and shirtmaking trades. It provides for the establishment of Wages Boards, with power to fix the minimum rate of wages to be paid to the workers in these particular trades, which are scheduled at the end of the Bill. The principal provisions are :—

Wages Boards to be established in districts on the application of the Trade Councils or six employers or employes in the trade concerned after inquiry by the Home Secretary.

The Wages Board to consist of six to ten—half employers, half employes, with a chairman chosen by the Board or nominated by the Home Secretary.

The Board to fix minimum wage calculated either by time or piece in factory, and piecework only on work given out.

Any person carrying on business in the district who pays or offers wages less than the minimum shall be liable to a fine of not less than £1 or more than £5, with fines increasing to from £2 to £20 on subsequent convictions.

An amendment was moved during the debate, but was negatived without a division. The Bill was then read the second time and committed to the Select Committee on Home Work.

The members of the Committee were Sir Thomas P. Whittaker (chairman), Mr. Arkwright, Mr. Bridgeman, Sir William Bull, Mr. Boland, Mr. Brunner,

Mr. Chiozza Money, Mr. Joseph Devlin, Mr. A. Dewar, Mr. Fell, Mr. G. P. Gooch, Mr. A. Henderson, Mr. E. Lamb, Mr. Hugh Law, Mr. Massie, Mr. Masterman, Mr. Parkes, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Stuart Samuel, and Mr. Trevelyan. The terms of reference to the Committee were "to consider and report upon the conditions of labour in trades in which home work is prevalent, and the proposals, including those for the establishment of wages boards and the licensing of work places, which have been made for the remedying of existing abuses." The report was issued on the 27th July, and the following paragraph shows the materials which the Committee has had at its service in arriving at its conclusions:—

"In addition to the evidence which we have heard from very capable officials of the Home Office and the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, from members of organisations which exist for the purpose of directing attention to, and suggesting remedies for, what is commonly known as the 'sweating' evil, from representative employers and workpeople who are engaged in some of the industries, the conditions of which have been considered, and from the promoters of the Sweated Industries Bill, your Committee have had the further advantage of supplementing Mr. Aves's valuable report on the working of the Labour laws of Australia and New Zealand by perusing a number of official reports which were very courteously supplied by the Governments of the States of the Australian Commonwealth and of the Dominion of New Zealand, and such information as the Foreign Office could obtain regarding the legislation of other countries upon the subject of their inquiries. The report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, which was appointed on the motion of Lord Dunraven in 1888, and reported in 1890, has also received our careful attention."

On recommending the establishment of a wages board, the Committee adds the following comment:—

"One safeguard against most, if not all, the conceivable harm which could possibly result from the unwise use by wages boards of the powers which your Committee suggest should be conferred upon them will be found in the fact that the proposal is that the boards should be composed of employers and employed who are engaged in the trades with regard to which they would fix rates of payment. No one could be more deeply concerned than they would be that every precaution should be taken that nothing be done that would really curtail the trade with which all their interests were so closely allied. No one would more speedily perceive and feel the effects of an imprudent decision, and it would be within their power to amend it promptly. We believe that the members of these boards would approach the discharge of their duties in a spirit of moderation, with a strong sense of fairness, and a full appreciation of the importance of the issues which would be submitted to them. There is no reason why they should not be able to decide what are the lowest rates of payment which may reasonably and equitably be made for work done under specified conditions in selected industries. They could at least secure the levelling up of the rates of payment in their respective trades to those adopted by the best employers in those trades. We have been impressed by the testimony we have received to the effect that most, if not indeed all, employers would be glad to have fixed a *minimum* rate of payment and conditions below which neither they nor their competitors should be allowed to go. If nothing more than this was accomplished by the adoption of the recommendations which we make, a substantial step would be taken in the improvement of the position of that portion of our people whose special circumstances we have been considering."

The report summarises the conclusions of the Committee as follows:—

"1. That there should be legislation with regard to the rates of payment made to home workers who are employed in the production or preparation of articles for sale by other persons.

"2. That such legislation should at first be tentative and experimental, and be limited in its scope to home workers engaged in the tailoring, shirtmaking, underclothing, and baby linen trades, and in the finishing processes of machine-made lace. The Home Secretary should be empowered after inquiry made to establish wages boards for any other trades.

"3. That wages boards should be established in selected trades to fix *minimum* time and piece rates of payment for home workers in those trades.

"4. That it should be an offence to pay or offer lower rates of payment to home workers in those trades than the *minimum* rates which had been fixed for that district by the wages board.

"5. That the delivery and collection of work done at home should be done by persons in the direct employ and pay of the employer. Where that was not done, the amount which a worker could earn in a specified time should be calculated on a basis which included the time spent in fetching and returning the work as time occupied in doing the work.

"6. That all home workers who are employed by other persons in producing or preparing articles for sale should be required to register their name, address, and class of work at, and receive a certificate of such registration from, the offices of the local authority, and that the keeping of accurate outworkers' lists by employers should be strictly enforced.

"7. That it should be an offence for any persons to employ any home worker to produce or prepare any articles for sale by another person unless the worker produce a certificate of registration.

"8. That the provisions of Section 9 of the Public Health Act, 1875, with regard to factories and workshops which are not kept clean or are ill-ventilated or overcrowded should be extended to rooms in which home work is done, and power should be given to Sanitary and Factory Inspectors to inspect them and secure the enforcement of the law.

"9. That the full protection of the Truck Act should be secured to home workers."

It may be worth while mentioning here that Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P., a member of your Committee, during the past session presented to the House of Commons a "Bill to provide for the better regulation of home industries." In this measure it is provided in Section 2 that any employer who gives out work or materials to be done in any dwelling-place shall be required to possess a certificate, in the absence of which he shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding £10. Exceptions are made in the cases of factories and workshops. Sections 4-10 prescribe that the certificate, which shall be applied for by the employer to the local authority, shall specify the trade to be carried on, the dwelling-place where the work is to be done, and the name of the occupier of such dwelling-place. The local authority shall on receipt of any application for a certificate cause inspection of the premises to be made to ascertain whether they are adequately lighted and ventilated, free from infection, and otherwise suitable for home work. The certificate is to remain in force for six months, and renewable, unless the local authority are satisfied that the premises in question are no longer suitable.

In May last the Home Secretary appointed the following Committee on the use of lead in the manufacture of earthenware and china: Mr. E. F. G. Hatch (chairman), Mr. W. Burton, Mr. Noel Buxton, Mr. Bernard Moore, Mr. Noah Parkes (secretary, North Staffordshire Trades Council), Miss Tuckwell, Mr. A. Vernon-Harcourt, F.R.S., Mr. John Ward, M.P.

The terms of reference set forth that the Committee are to consider the dangers attendant on the use of lead in the various branches of the manufacture of china and earthenware, and in the processes incidental thereto,

including the making of transfers, and to report how far these can be obviated or lessened, and how far precautionary measures are reasonably practicable generally. Other matters to be considered are the danger to health arising from dust, the existing special rules for the manufacture of earthenware and china, and what modifications, if any, are desirable.

“SWEATING” IN THE SALVATION ARMY JOINERY WORKS.

To carry out the decision of the Bath Trades Union Congress in regard to this question, your Committee appointed a sub-committee to inquire fully into the charges that had been made.

The following is a copy of their report to your Committee:—

“‘SWEATING’ IN THE SALVATION ARMY JOINERY WORKS.

“Your sub-committee have held three meetings for the purpose of inquiring into and receiving evidence concerning the charges made at the Bath Congress as to the sweated conditions of Labour prevailing at the Salvation Army’s Joinery Works, Hanbury Street, London, the resolution passed at Congress instructing the Parliamentary Committee ‘to at once open negotiations with the Salvation Army authority with a view to an inquiry being made, so that joinery manufactured at their workshops may not be put upon the market at prices that unfairly compete with the general building firms who pay their workmen the rate of wages and observe the conditions agreed upon between the London Master Builders’ Association and the Joiners’ Trade Unions.’

“At the first meeting, your sub-committee had before them two men who had been working at the Hanbury Street depot for four years, and whose evidence fully substantiated the statements made in Congress as to the conditions prevailing in the Salvation Army Works. They stated that they each received 12s. per week, 9s. of which was retained by the Army as the cost of their food, the men actually receiving 3s., although this sum was—or had been—subject to a reduction of one-third for clothes. They gave full particulars concerning the prices paid for the work, each job being priced when given out to them, among them the following: Four panel doors, making two per day, for which they were credited with 2s. for the day’s work; six casement frames, 14s. the lot, which they claimed it would take a joiner a full week to make; shutters made for 1s. each, and for which a joiner in the trade would be paid 4s. 4½d.; sashes and frames, 9d. each, which would mean in the trade three hours at 10½d. They stated that about 60 joiners were employed at the Salvation Army factory, of whom only one-third could not earn the full money paid to joiners working in the outside trade. They also informed your sub-committee that a certain builder in the north of London had bought from the Salvation Army joinery work for 200 houses, and that they (with other men whose names they gave) had been sent out from the depot to work on the houses which the builder referred to was erecting.

“At the second meeting of your sub-committee two other witnesses were present from the Hanbury Street depot, both of whom were then employed there, and had been for some time—one for over six years the other for five years—and each of whom had served an apprenticeship at the trade. A copy of their evidence, which was taken at length, and fully supports the evidence tendered at the first meeting, accompanies this report. It will be noted that both witnesses stated they had to ‘set out’ their own work.

“At the third sitting a copy of the balance sheet and statement of accounts of the Salvation Army Social Work (the Darkest England fund) for the year ended September 30th, 1907, was handed in, and, under the heading, ‘The

City Colonies' industrial section, the receipts (by sales, earnings, and donations) of the Hanbury Street depot are set out as £14,675 4s. 11d., and the expenditure (by purchases, maintenance of men, and their allowances) £15,979 4s. 7d., a somewhat extraordinary result in view of the evidence placed before your sub-committee.

"At this meeting, although the man was not present, it was stated that the person in question started at the depot in June last, and remained there for 13 weeks, receiving for the first week, 1s. 6d.; second, 2s.; third, 2s. 6d.; fourth, 3s.; and 2s. 6d. per week afterwards; and who worked overtime for two or three nights per week. He happened to be late one night in returning to the depot, and told them next day he had work to go to. Upon being told to go, he claimed the balance of the money due to him, and which had been, or was supposed to have been, carried forward from week to week. At first he was told there was nothing in hand, but, upon persisting, was given 3s. after being informed that the amount was 2s. 9d. He is now working at Olympia, and was formerly a member of the Carpenters' Society, but ran out of membership after securing a foreman's job.

"From the evidence placed before us, it is clear that the Hanbury Street depot is conducted as far as work is concerned on the same lines as ordinary trade factories. The working hours are similar, overtime is worked (but not paid for), pressure is brought to bear upon the men to get out the work, and (as one of the witnesses expressively put it) for every job 'the cart is waiting,' and on one occasion—Wednesday, November 20th—the staff captain told the men after prayers, that they would have to 'slip into the work,' as the place was not a hospital, supplementing this by stating that there were 50 to 60 men waiting at Whitechapel to fill their places.

"The witnesses had been employed upon expert carpentry work, doing as much work per week as any outside workman would be expected to do, besides working 'overtime.' When complaint was made regarding the low prices fixed for the work, reply appears to have been made that only a certain amount was paid for it to the Army—an interesting admission in view of the denial made by the Army as to 'underselling' those engaged in the outside trade.

"Another important point appears to be the manner in which the balances of earnings carried forward week by week to the men's credit—after deducting 12s., of which only 3s. reaches the man—are dealt with. According to the witnesses, the balances have a habit of disappearing, at any rate the men do not appear to receive them; and when they leave to take up work outside they are not provided with tools, even although the man may claim that he has a balance of earnings to his credit.

"The men's weekly accounts are kept in an ordinary memorandum book—some of which were shown to your sub-committee—but none of the witnesses had ever been called upon to sign or in any way vouch for the amounts paid to them or for the balances kept in hand by the Army. One of the witnesses declared that at one time he had to his credit a balance of 37s., but that this disappeared 'by the simple process of putting a pen through it.'

"They complained of the food, for which a deduction from the earnings of 9s. per week is made, and declared that they would be able to get as good for 5s.

"Working all day long, obviously they had no opportunity of seeking work in the general trade, and if by chance they did secure outside employment they could not earn sufficient from their weekly grant to purchase tools.

"The witness who stated that he had (with others) been sent out by the Army to work for a builder at the north of London said that when so employed he received from the Army 1s. 2d. per day for food—4d. breakfast, 6d. dinner, and 4d. tea—and the travelling fare, leaving at 6-30 a.m., returning at 7 p.m.

"It was freely admitted that all the men at the depot were not capable workmen, although the number of those who could earn full money if engaged in the general trade was stated to be about one-half, and the importance of this statement, combined with the conditions—hours of working, etc.—under which the work was being produced, cannot well be over-estimated.

"It will, therefore, be seen that the evidence placed before your sub-committee corroborates to the full the statements made to the delegates at Congress, and amply justify the resolution passed thereat, and we, therefore, recommend the Committee to appoint a deputation to wait upon General Booth for the purpose of bringing to his notice the evidence we now place before you."

This report was read to and endorsed by the full Committee, and a communication was duly sent to General Booth requesting him to grant your representatives an interview. The following is a copy of the correspondence which then ensued:—

London, W.C., 4th February, 1908.

Dear Sir,—At the last Trade Union Congress, held in Bath, the enclosed resolution was unanimously agreed to. My Committee, therefore, appointed a small sub-committee, consisting of Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P., Alderman B. Cooper, L.C.C., and Mr. F. Chandler, J.P. (General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners), to inquire into the accuracy or otherwise of the charges made. After a very exhaustive inquiry they have come to the conclusion that labour in the joinery workshop at Hanbury Street is paid at very much below the Trade Union rate of wages, and I am requested by them to ask if you will be good enough to see a small deputation from the Parliamentary Committee to discuss the matter with you.

We leave you to fix the time and place, suitable to your convenience.

A favourable answer would much oblige

Yours faithfully,

W. C. STEADMAN.

General Booth, Salvation Army.

101, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.,

7th February, 1908.

Sir,—I am directed to reply to yours of the 4th inst.

General Booth would not be indisposed to receive such a deputation as you indicate, but before coming to a decision on the matter he would like to know what is the subject which your Committee wish to bring before him.

The resolution of the Bath Congress, a copy of which you were good enough to enclose to us, instructs a Parliamentary Committee to open negotiations, etc., with the following object, namely: "So that joinery manufactured at their workshops may not be put upon the market at prices that unfairly compete with the general building firms who pay their workmen the rate of wages and observe the conditions agreed upon between the London Master Builders' Association and the joiners' Trade Union."

On the other hand, your letter states that the sub-committee in question, "after a very exhaustive inquiry, have come to the conclusion that labour in the joinery workshop at Hanbury Street is paid at very much below the Trade Union rate of wages," and it is desired that this matter should be discussed with General Booth. We shall be glad to know definitely whether your Committee considers itself authorised by the Bath Congress to debate the latter point, upon which there has never been any question or dispute so far as we are concerned; or whether it is the former question, namely, the question actually mentioned in the resolution of the Congress upon which conference is desired.

I am to add that you may feel assured that this matter has received the most anxious consideration, and that we are not desirous of doing anything which could be in any sense detrimental to the interests of the workmen associated with the various unions concerned.

Yours faithfully,

EDWIN G. LE BUTT.

W. C. Steadman, Esq., M.P., the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, 42, 44, Effingham House, Arundel Street, Strand, W.C.

To this communication reply was made in the following terms :—

London, W.C., February 11th, 1908.

Mr. Edwin G. Le Butt.

Dear Sir,—Your favour of the 7th inst. duly to hand.

The matter upon which my Committee desire their representatives to see General Booth is as stated in the second paragraph of your letter, namely, that joinery work should not be placed upon the market at prices enabling the Salvation Army to compete unfairly with firms in the general trade.

Obviously, upon this point it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to formulate specific and definite charges without being in possession of that knowledge which in most business transactions is only within the cognisance of manufacturers and their customers; and, equally obviously, the complaints made at the Trades Union Congress could only be founded upon the reasonable deductions to be drawn from the low rates of remuneration paid to joiners for the work produced at the Hanbury Street depot—roughly estimated as being in some instances at least 66 per cent. below the recognised prices paid for similar work by employers carrying on business in the outside trade.

In seeking an interview with General Booth, the desire of my Committee is that they may thereby be enabled to give a satisfactory reply to those who have felt it to be their duty to raise the question, as well as to those on whose authority my Committee were instructed to investigate the complaint.

Yours faithfully,

W. C. STEADMAN.

At last an interview was arranged for the 13th April, 1908, at the Salvation Army International Headquarters, Queen Victoria Street, London. The interview was of a private character, and lasted more than an hour, during which the matter was very fully discussed between your Committee's representatives and General Booth, Mr. E. G. Le Butt, and Colonel Sturgess, and at the conclusion of the interview it was agreed that the points at issue should be embodied in a written communication, the reply to which could be submitted to Congress. Your Committee thereupon decided to send the following letter :—

London, W.C., 13th May, 1908.

General Booth, Salvation Army.

Dear Sir,—The deputation from the Parliamentary Committee which waited upon you on the 13th ult. with reference to the complaint made at the last Trades Union Congress regarding the method of conducting and of placing upon the market the manufactured articles produced in the joinery department at the Hanbury Street depot having reported the result of their interview with you, we have been directed to place before you the following statement, and to request that you will be good enough to reply to the points herein raised, in order that such reply may be duly placed before the delegates attending the forthcoming Trades Union Congress.

The resolution passed at the Bath Congress instructed the Parliamentary Committee to open up negotiations with you "so that joinery manufactured at the Salvation Army's Hanbury Street depot may not be put upon the market at prices that unfairly compete with the general building firms who pay their workmen the rate of wages and observe the conditions agreed upon between the London Master Builders' Association and the joiners' Trade Union." So far as the payment of wages is concerned, you have admitted (and have given reasons for such admission) that the rates paid are very far below those recognised in the general trade; the remaining and important question being whether in placing the manufactured goods upon the market you are unfairly competing with the trade so far as the selling prices are concerned.

With regard to this precise point, as stated in our communication to you under date February 11th last, "obviously it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to formulate specific and definite charges without being in possession of that knowledge which in most business transactions is only within the cognisance of manufacturers and their customers; and equally obviously, the complaints made at the Trades Union Congress could only be founded upon the reasonable deductions to be drawn from the low rates of remuneration paid to joiners for the work produced at the Hanbury Street depot, roughly estimated as being in some instances at least 66 per cent. below the recognised prices paid for similar work by employers carrying on business in the outside trade."

As a result of the report presented by the deputation recently waiting upon you, the Parliamentary Committee, whilst paying due regard to your assurance that in

selling the joinery work manufactured at the Hanbury Street depot to builders, contractors, and others, "you had never undercut prices, and would not do so," rely upon the promise you then made that if complaints reached you upon the authority of responsible persons you would have them fully inquired into.

They, therefore, submit the following points placed before them by men who have worked at the Hanbury Street depot—in some cases for five and six years—and respectfully request your replies thereto:—

"That the joiners receive 12s. per week as wages, from which the sum of 9s. is retained by the Salvation Army as the cost of providing them with food during the week.

"That the balance of 3s. per week has been paid, subject to a deduction of one-third for clothes.

"That as many as 60 joiners have been employed there, a certain proportion of whom were capable of earning, and who, had their work been priced upon the basis of the rates paid by an ordinary employer, have actually earned, the full recognised weekly wage prevailing in the general trade.

"That a certain builder in the north of London, engaged in building 200 houses, had bought joinery work from the dépôt, and that joiners had been sent from the Hanbury Street works to work on those houses who were not personally paid the ordinary journeyman's wage, but received from the Army 1s. 2d. per day for food, with travelling allowance.

"That the men in the dépôt are frequently called upon to work overtime, as they would be if employed in the general trade, but for which they receive no extra payment.

"That pressure is brought to bear upon the joiners to 'pull out' on the ground that the 'cart is waiting,' and that they have been told that the place is 'not a hospital,' many others being ready and waiting to take their places.

"That the men are never called upon to sign for the money they receive each week.

"That all the work is priced before being given out to the men, and that the balances remaining, after deducting the 12s. per man per week, are carried forward to the men's credit.

"That upon leaving the dépôt the men do not receive the benefit of such accumulated balances, and are not provided with tools or money to purchase same upon leaving to take up work in the general trade."

We respectfully submit the above points to you, and will be glad to receive your replies thereto at your earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully,

D. J. SHACKLETON, Chairman.

W. C. STEADMAN, Secretary.

Further letters were sent from the office on the 12th June and 13th July asking for a reply to the above letter of the 13th May, and on the 22nd July we received the following reply from General Booth and Commissioner Sturgess:—

International Headquarters, London, E.C.

22nd July, 1908.

Dear Sir,—I regret that the demands upon my time and much absence from London have prevented my sooner replying to your letter of 13th May last, with reference to the alleged sweating at one of the workshops connected with our social work.

In harmony with my promise to the deputation which was good enough to call upon me on the matter, I have had full and careful inquiries made, and I am satisfied that there is no ground for the complaints made against this effort, which is one carried on solely for helping men, who, when they come under our care, are outside the opportunities of ordinary labour. I think the enclosed memorandum by my officer, who is responsible for that branch of work, deals very fairly with the facts.

If your Committee still think that efforts of this kind should be discontinued then I must ask, as I did when I had the pleasure of meeting your deputation, what is to be done, for example, with the 70 men now working in the Hanbury Street factory?

Shall we send them to the Trade Unions? I venture to think that such a course would be obviously useless. The majority, if not all, of them have forfeited their

tickets and are without tools. The Trade Union officials could not be expected to look at them.

Would you have me send them adrift rather than endure the criticism and vilification of those who are prejudiced against our work? I could, undoubtedly, do so. But should I do so? To whom can they turn if they find themselves again in the streets where already so many vigorous, decent fellows are to be found in search of work? What chance would they stand in their present condition when brought into competition with other workers for such work as is available? Supposing that I should say to them to-morrow: "Your old friends tell me that I ought to give you all the standard rate of wages whether you earn those wages or not, and as this would require the expenditure of a fortune, and would involve me in paying what some of you do not and probably never will earn, I regret that I shall be compelled to dismiss you," what would follow? I do not think it is difficult to predict. A proportion of the 70 would, I fear, at once augment the army of spongers and tramps; others would, in all probability, drift into crime; and some, despairing of help, would make their bed in the waters of the Thames.

Such an alternative as this, as I said to your deputation, I cannot face. I propose to go on helping these poor fellows so far as I possibly can, and to place them in suitable situations as soon as they are fit to take them whenever a chance occurs, either in this country or some other.

And, notwithstanding the many unkind and foolish things that have been said about us in this connection, I believe that every humane person will agree with me in thinking that I am doing right.

I am, yours faithfully,

W. C. Steadman, Esq., M.P.,

The Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee,
42-44, Effingham House, Arundel Street, Strand, W.C.

WILLIAM BOOTH.

The Salvation Army, Men's Social Work,

20 and 22, Whitechapel Road, London, E.,

July 22nd, 1908.

Memorandum by Commissioner Sturgess, Governor of the City Colony, with reference to a letter to General Booth, from Mr. W. C. Steadman, M.P., of May 13th, 1908, *re* Hanbury Street workshop.

Mr. Steadman's letter containing some comments on an interview which took place at the Salvation Army Headquarters on April 13th last between the deputation from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the General has had my most earnest consideration. It is somewhat surprising—especially after the information which was then furnished to the deputation—to find that there is still a disposition to regard our Elevator in Whitechapel as an ordinary carpenters' and joiners' shop.

Still the main object of that branch of our social work is recognised any discussion on matters of detail would seem to be of little service.

The Hanbury Street Elevator is not a "shop." The need of resorting to this class of labour originated in the general situation created by the inauguration of the Darkest England scheme. In appearance it is a carpenter's shop, but there is one important feature which constitutes an essential difference between this and the ordinary carpenter's shop. The latter is started for purposes of profit, and conducted accordingly; our Elevator was opened neither for profit nor indeed primarily for trading. It was designed to lend temporary assistance and to afford the means of ultimate permanent deliverance to breakdown men whom we found in our shelters and similar institutions for the homeless and destitute. These men had lost place and caste with their employers, with their Trade Unions, with their friends, and, through a variety of causes, had become so much human driftwood on the current of labour in London. Yet at one time they had known how to manipulate the saw and the plane, and had been more or less (perhaps less rather than more) familiar with some of the branches of carpentry and joinery. There they were, outcasted, driven to the wall by sickness, trade depression, or their own misconduct.

Now, some of its critics talk and write as if these men were the product of the Salvation Army, or as if, because they are what they are, they should be put out of existence. But the Army, having once stretched out the hand of compassion to them at the shelter, felt a measure of responsibility for completing if possible their deliverance, and in the same spirit as it devises means of self-help in other departments of its social work, it obtained premises in Hanbury Street, and fitted them up with the usual facilities for carpentry and joinery in order to employ them, and thus help them at least temporarily.

By the latest returns issued from Hanbury Street it appears that out of 71 men now being helped there by this plan, 19 show a stay of one year or more, and 24 of the remainder have been with us three months or less. Taking one year with another, and one batch with another, we find that on an average three men are required to perform the work of an ordinary skilled worker.

It is desirable, further, to emphasise the fact that the Salvation Army does not profess to furnish the men at Hanbury Street with an ordinary job or situation. If it did so, and the shop were being run with average carpenters and joiners, the whole concern would be placed under other conditions, such, for example, as those which regulate our Printing Works at St. Albans, where the conditions of labour are admittedly even higher than those required by the Trade Unions' standard.

If, therefore, the fact that the industry in question is in the nature of an industrial hospital be recognised, the view taken of the status of these workers and of the character of their work must at once be altered. Explanation will, then, be only needed on a few points to which reference has been made in the letter referred to.

1. As to underselling. Why should the Committee assume that, because the monetary allowances to the men at Hanbury Street are not based on the Trade Union scale of wages, the Salvation Army is guilty of underselling? The undue attention and unfair criticism which this agency has encountered is traceable, without doubt, to this strange method of reasoning; but such a line of reasoning is manifestly unfair.

It has already been stated that it takes three men to do the work of one. The sums paid, therefore, are not deemed wages in the ordinary sense. Every man is told this when he applies for admission to the works, and if he is not prepared to accept the conditions he is not admitted. If he is admitted he enters into an agreement, which provides as follows:—

"I declare that, being unable to find work elsewhere, and being homeless, friendless, and destitute, I have been admitted to the City Colony, to work only for my subsistence and shelter, and that everything allowed me beyond this will be so allowed merely by the kindness of the governor."

Not only is the conclusion that the Salvation Army undersells because it employs this class of labour unwarranted, but it should yield to congratulations that the work done under such conditions is so good.

2. Underpayment of the men. It is alleged that "the joiners" who have been at Hanbury Street for five or six years receive 12s. per week as wages, from which the sum of 9s. is retained by the Salvation Army as the cost of providing them with food during the week!

The answer to this is that the statement is not correct. Twelve shillings per week covers the cost of their board and lodging alone, and in addition grants as high as 7s. 6d. per week are paid to some, with extra for overtime. It goes without saying that in the interests of this class of men as a whole "overtime" is discouraged, and only resorted to in cases of absolute necessity.

3. Deductions. Why fault should be found with this system it is difficult to apprehend. Bearing in mind the class of men, all must agree that deductions are essential to their ultimate extrication from the circumstances in which they are placed. At any rate, I find whatever deductions are made are fixed by the manager after conferring with the men; and such deductions are not always for clothes, as is suggested.

The money deducted is often applied to the redemption of tools from pawn, and at times is drawn out by the men in cash. No embargo is put on the withdrawal of the deductions, although the propensity of a section of the men to excessive drinking renders it desirable for the manager to discourage withdrawal until the men have proved themselves steady, and until there is a definite prospect of obtaining employment elsewhere.

4. The impression would seem to obtain that the men in the Hanbury Street Elevator, who are above the average of the inmates, should be paid the weekly wage prevailing in the general trade.

The number of these better men is very small. At the present time there are only five really good workmen. The remainder could not meet the demands of an average shop, and, consequently, their earning capacity is smaller. But, beside this, the Salvation Army officers stand, to a large extent, in the relation of guardians to the majority of these men; and many of them readily acknowledge themselves that they are in far better circumstances, remunerated as they are, than if they were earning the full union rate of wages outside. Reasons will readily suggest themselves, and need not be enumerated. That the men should remain at Hanbury Street forms no part of the Salvation Army plan. None but the most cogent reasons compel this course in the interests of the men themselves. The very object of the scheme is to qualify them for full employment at full wages elsewhere, and for them to obtain it as soon as possible.

5. A specific case is next quoted: "A certain builder in the North of London, engaged in building 200 houses, had bought joinery work from the depot, and that joiners had been sent from the Hanbury Street Works to work on those houses who were not personally paid the ordinary journeyman's wage but received from the Army 1s. 2d. per day for food and travelling allowance."

The statement that joiners have been sent to work on a job in North London is partly—but only partly—true. It was a case where men have been sent out to erect and fix staircases. There were only two men. The fixing was part of the contract as is usual in the trade. The work was equal to two men's work for four days about every five weeks. These were *high grant* men, their travelling was done in working hours, and expenses were paid to them as an extra. It can hardly be held, therefore, that they were competing with local labour, as the custom is in these cases for the manufacturer to send his own men to erect.

6. As to working overtime. The men *do* receive extra pay when they work overtime. How a report to the contrary has got circulated it is impossible to understand. But overtime is a disadvantage and is not encouraged.

7. It is also stated that pressure is brought to bear upon the joiners to "pull out" on the ground that the "cart is waiting," etc.

Undoubtedly men *have* been asked to "pull out." Experience with such labour is convincing that constant encouragement and pushing is necessary in order to get anything approaching a fair day's work from any of the men, especially when they first come into our works. To object to this is to ignore the main consideration which should influence every working-class organisation that any improvement in the individual helps to raise the whole class.

Much of the existing misapprehension—to put it mildly—may have been caused by some of the "tabs" from Hanbury Street having got into circulation among avowed enemies of Salvation Army work.

These "tabs" represent one section of the labour only, not the whole. It is desirable to keep an eye on every man on every section of the work. The manager of the works does not get the finished article from any one of the men, only a certain section.

This point, however, was explained last year in the *Daily News* of August 29th, where it was stated:—

"As to the facts and figures that have been published, they are totally misleading. Take, for example, the prices paid for a certain number of seats for a public hall which are thus given: 'Salvation Army price 30s. the lot; builder's estimate for the labour £5 5s.' But the figure, so hastily put down as the Salvation Army price for the goods, is the price paid merely for putting together the various pieces of wood *after they have been prepared*. The charge for the seats would be about £14, of which there would be paid for labour alone between £5 and £6."

Then, again, Hanbury Street is not a piecework shop, as some of its critics have loudly proclaimed. What little piecework we do give out is determined by the character of the men in the shop for the time being, and by the character of the work. We have all kinds of men, and must, therefore, find all kinds of work.

In order to still further damage the object and reputation of the Hanbury Street Works, prices have been published in a way that suggests that goods—doors, window frames, etc.—are there sold much below the average market price. That this is untrue may be shown by an illustration. The Hanbury Street price for a 4ft. dresser is 21s.; certain London firms quote the same class of goods at 14s. 6d. and 14s. A similar comparison might be made in the prices of doors.

But perhaps the most eloquent fact is that, although there are no large expenses of management to meet, the Hanbury Street Works, up to the present, show yearly a financial loss, owing to the class of labour employed. A little reflection upon the lives saved, the sorrows and miseries prevented, not to mention the financial burdens diverted from the ratepayers, should lead to rejoicing in the establishment and operation of such an agency, and to the provision of more money with which to open others wherever the need exists.

Nobody could carry on such an enterprise successfully without in some degree calling forth and utilising the superior qualities of some for the benefit of the rest. But is this a just reason for condemning the work? Is it worthy of any organisation of workers to do so? An honest endeavour, *on economic lines*, to reclaim and reform those who have dropped out of their ranks should surely merit not carping criticism, but their gratitude and unstinted support.

R. J. STURGESS.

Your Committee had no opportunity of considering the above communication until they met in Nottingham. It will be noted that, although it is claimed that the elevator in Whitechapel is not an ordinary carpenters and joiners' shop, and that "it takes three men to do the work of one," it is admitted that pressure is brought to bear upon the men to produce a "fair day's work," and in addition to being asked to "pull out," they are called upon to work overtime—two very common features of an ordinary carpenters and joiners' shop. It is further stated that unless the men accept these conditions they are not allowed to enter the depot. A further admission is made to the effect that men have been sent out to assist ordinary builders to complete their work, and if these men were sent out at the rates of payment admittedly prevailing inside the depot, it must obviously follow that men in the outside trade must have been affected, as they would otherwise have been doing such work at higher rates of pay, for had the depot not existed the work would necessarily have been done in the ordinary way, and at the ordinary rates. It is obviously the case, therefore, that as between Trade Unionists and the officials of the Salvation Army the question is being looked at and reasoned from entirely opposite standpoints, and your Committee cannot but feel that, under the circumstances set forth in the above correspondence, the competition of the work manufactured in the depot, with that produced by outside firms, tends to materially weaken the position of the trade so far as Trade Unionists are concerned.

FAIR WAGES RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

It will be remembered that in our report to the Trades Union Congress at Bath we drew attention to the fact that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury had appointed a Committee to consider the working of the fair wages resolution of the House of Commons of the 13th February, 1891, as embodied in Government contracts, and to report whether any administrative changes, especially with a view to the prevention of evasion, the enforcement of the rate current in the district, and greater uniformity of interpretation and working, are desirable in order to enable the objects of the resolution to be more effectually attained.

As this Committee was prepared to take evidence from representatives of Trade Unions, a circular was issued on the 5th November, 1907, to the trades asking all those officials who had had experience of the unsatisfactory results of the Fair Wages Resolution to give evidence on the subject.

The Congress at Bath passed a resolution suggesting the alteration of the Fair Wages Resolution on the following lines:—

That, in the opinion of this House, all Government contracts should contain a clause stating that the contractor shall observe the conditions, hours of labour, and pay the wages recognised and agreed upon between the employers and Trade Unions of the districts (the rate to be paid irrespective of piecework earnings) in which the work is carried on, and a schedule of wages paid shall be posted in some conspicuous place in the works where the work is done.

Failing such agreement as to conditions, hours, or wages, those in operation in the nearest town or district in which the work is carried on, under such agreement, shall be taken to apply.

Any firm which does not recognise the above-mentioned conditions on all their work, whether Government or otherwise, shall be deemed an "unfair" house, and not eligible to contract for Government work.

Facilities shall be given by which Trade Union officials can learn to whom contracts are given in the trades they represent.

Accordingly Mr. D. C. Cummings, J.P., was appointed by the Parliamentary Committee to give evidence on their behalf. The following is a copy of the statement submitted by him :—

FAIR WAGES RESOLUTION—COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.

METHODS OF EVASION.

Employers who refuse to pay recognised Trade Union rates have secured contracts for erection of Post Offices and other Government buildings ; they pay the recognised rates to men fixing the work on the building under contract, the work itself being prepared at the works ready for fixing, at wages below the recognised rates.

Other employers that contract for work that is completed inside the works employ a few odd men at the recognised rates, the rest being paid at lower rates, with the result that often inefficient men and boys do a large portion of the work under contract, although they claim that they are paying the recognised rates.

Others, again, pay the recognised rates to a few men while they are employed on Government work, reverting to lower rates immediately the Government contract is finished.

Again, other employers having offices in large industrial centres remove their works into the country districts where there is not any other firm doing similar work, they then pay wages below the recognised rate, and contend that they are paying the current rate of the locality in which their works are situated.

Another method of evasion is for an employer to deceive the Government Departments by stating that they are within a certain locality, when at the same time they are very much nearer a larger and a higher paid centre of industry.

SOME EXAMPLES OF EVASION.

A firm employed in the hosiery trade removed 20 miles from Leicester, and was then the only firm doing hosiery in that locality. They fixed their rate nearly 50 per cent. less than what was recognised in Leicester, calling their rate the "current rate" for the locality.

A firm in Sheffield contracting for anvils for the India Office fixed its rate 2s. per cwt. less than the rates in Stafford and Worcester, which is practically the home of the anvil making industry. The Sheffield firm was the only one making anvils in Sheffield. They, therefore, fixed their own rate without consideration or arrangement with the trade, claimed that they were paying the current rate for the locality, and obtained the Government contract.

A Birmingham firm erected a workshop about 30 miles from Birmingham in an isolated place, no other manufacturer being in the locality. While undertaking a Government contract for copper wire drawing they reduced the wages in two instances for piecework from 6d. to 4½d. per ton. The men affected refused to do the work at the lower prices and went on strike, two other men doing the work at the price fixed by the manager. Here again the contention was that the firm was paying current rate.

A firm at Oldbury obtained contracts for Government work, contending that they were in the Dudley district, their works being many miles nearer Birmingham than Dudley. Birmingham rates were higher than Dudley.

To prevent evasion, to enforce the recognised Trade Union rate, to obtain greater uniformity and put competing contractors upon a more equal basis, I would suggest the following resolution to the Committee :—

"That all Government contracts shall contain a clause stating that the contractor shall observe the conditions, hours of labour, and pay the wages recognised and agreed upon by the employers and Trade Unions of the districts (the rate to be paid irrespective of piecework earnings) in which the work is carried on, and a schedule of wages paid shall be posted in some conspicuous place in the works where the work is done. Failing such agreement as to conditions, hours, or wages, those in operation in the nearest town or district in which similar work is carried on, under such agreement, shall be taken to apply. Any firm which does not recognise the above-mentioned conditions on all their work, shall be deemed an 'unfair' house, and not eligible to contract for Government work. Facilities shall be given by which Trade Union officials can learn to whom contracts are given in the trades they represent."

I also submit to the Committee a comparison between the wages paid in private ship-building yards and that paid in the Government shipyards, with the hope that the Board of

Admiralty may be induced to pay in accord with that demanded from Government contractors in this industry :—

PRIVATE SHIPYARDS.

LADS LEARNING THE TRADE

Must be 16 and under 18 years of age, serve five years as an apprentice; they receive 7s. to start, 1s. advance the second year, and 2s. per year afterwards. They work piecework nearly the whole of their time, and in the last two or three years often earn £2 per week.

WHEN MEN ON TIME WAGES.

At the close of their apprenticeship they immediately receive the rates paid in the district, which, although they vary in the several districts, are upon an average 25 per cent. higher than that paid in the Government dockyards.

The wages in private yards in the districts doing Naval work are now :—

	Rivettets and		
	Platers.	Caulkers.	Holders-up.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Tyne.....	36 6	34 6	28 6
Clyde	33 9	33 9	25 6
Mersey	40 6	34 6	28 6
Thames	45 0	38 0	33 0
Barrow	35 0	33 0	27 6
Average	38 3	34 9	28 3
Dockyard maximum.....	28 0	28 0	25 0

Excess in private yards.....	10 3	6 9	3 3
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This excess is an excess of pay over the maximum rates paid in Government shipyards, and would be 3s. per week more if I dealt with the average in Government yards.

It is understood that the Committee have completed the taking of evidence, and its report will be awaited with much interest.

RAILWAY DISPUTE.

It will be remembered that soon after the Congress at Bath, a strike of railway servants was threatened owing to the refusal of the railway directors to recognise the right of the Trade Union to represent the men. The issue raised was not only of importance to railwaymen, but to the whole Trade Union movement. In order to help the railwaymen the following notice, signed by the secretaries of the three organisations, was issued just before the meeting of the Parliamentary Committee in October :—

In the event of the reply of the railway directors to the application of the railway servants being in the negative, that the T.U. Parliamentary Committee, the Labour Party and the Federation will meet in joint conference to consider what action is necessary.

When your Committee met on the 16th October they considered the question very carefully, after explanations from Mr. Bell, and finally decided to publish the following resolution :—

This Committee learn with great regret and surprise that the railway directors have refused to negotiate with the representatives of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and desire to point out that in all the organised trades of the country trade conflicts are being constantly avoided through conferences held between representatives of employers and officials of Trade Unions. Should the refusal of the directors to meet the railwaymen's officials lead to the paralysis of trade and danger to the travelling public, the responsibility will, in our opinion, rest entirely on the shoulders of the railway directors. Further, this Committee, representing the whole Trade Union movement, express their hearty and entire sympathy with the railwaymen in their efforts to obtain recognition.

GOVERNMENT SHIPYARDS.

As trade boys they commence at 14 years of age at 6s. per week, receiving an additional 1s. per week until they arrive at the age of 21.

At 21 years of age they receive 22s. per week, the maximum they can obtain being 28s. per week, a maximum not reached by all, and in no case has the maximum been reached earlier than three years after attaining the age of 21. This maximum of 28s. per week applies to men punching, shearing, and bending angles and plates, and also to rivettets and caulkers, holders-up maximum being 24s.

The average rate paid in dockyards is, however, about 25s. per week.

Meanwhile, a ballot was being taken by the society with regard to resorting to a strike, and as the result could not be known before the beginning of November your Committee decided to adjourn the consideration of the measures to be adopted till November 4th, when another meeting was called. They resolved likewise to convene a conference of the three bodies for the next day, November 5th, *i.e.*, the Parliamentary Committee, General Federation of Trade Unions, and Labour Party.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, before leaving for America, had an interview with the President of the Board of Trade on the question of the dispute. As a conference was to take place on Saturday, 19th October, at Manchester, of all sections of the railway workers to obtain absolute unity of action, your Committee decided to send a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Shackleton, Gill, Chandler, and Williams, to, if possible, help the delegates to arrive at a suitable understanding.

As is known, the delegates from the Parliamentary Committee succeeded in bringing about complete harmony, and in getting all the other unions to support the movement for recognition.

The following are the two resolutions passed at the meeting :—

That this Conference of representatives of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, the Railway Telegraph Clerks' Association, the General Railway Workers' Union, the Associated Society of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen, the Railway Clerks' Association, and the United Pointsmen and Signalmen's Society heartily support the action of the railway Trade Unions in demanding the elementary right of all Trade Unionists to collective bargaining and the consequent right of being represented in all their trade disputes by their duly elected officials.

That the Conference having agreed to the principle of official recognition, hereby decide that no further deputation be appointed to wait on the officials or directors unless accompanied by an official representative.

Bearing the result of this Conference in mind, the Executive of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants passed the following resolution :—

That this Committee, on behalf of the society, places on record its sincere thanks and appreciation to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress for appointing a deputation to attend the Conference at Manchester in connection with the railwaymen's movement.

However, on the 2nd November, 1907, the following letter was received from Mr. Bell :—

NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

My dear Steadman,—Owing to change of circumstances, I suggest that you should at once postpone the meeting of the Parliamentary Committee on Monday and the joint meeting on Tuesday. I do not think it will be necessary to call them together at this stage.

Please advise Federation and Labour Party.

Yours sincerely,

RICHARD BELL.

In consequence of the receipt of this letter, the Conference was not held; but a mass meeting which had been arranged for Sunday, November 3rd, at the Albert Hall, was held, at which the Parliamentary Committee were represented.

At the meeting of the Parliamentary Committee on the 20th November, Mr. Bell explained why he suggested not holding the conference of the three bodies fixed for November 5th. Negotiations had been taking place with the Board of Trade, and a scheme was to be submitted on Wednesday, November 6th. As, therefore, there was no possibility of his society being able to give a lead to the conference, he, with the vice-chairman (Mr. Gill), who had also been taking part in the negotiations previously with the Board of Trade, concluded that it would be inadvisable to hold the conference. The ultimate acceptance of the terms obviated the necessity for a later conference.

OVERLAPPING OF WORK.

At their meeting in December your Committee had under consideration the question of the overlapping of work which, it is asserted, occurs between the Parliamentary Committee and the Labour Party. In order to avoid time, expense, and waste of effort, it had been suggested that the work of the two bodies should be strictly defined, and that only those resolutions should be placed on the agenda of the Labour Party or Trades Union Congress referring to subjects that would be decided as coming within the scope of either body. Your Committee came to the conclusion that, in the interests of the movement generally, it would not be wise to limit their own power to place on their agenda any resolution proposed by affiliated societies. One of the reasons for their decision was that the Labour Party, by its constitution, is generally in opposition to every Government, but the Parliamentary Committee is in a somewhat different position, and can approach with greater freedom, and, from some points of view, greater influence, the various Ministers of State, in order to call attention to the wishes of the Trade Unions of the country as expressed at their different Congresses. By limiting the programme of the Congress, an opportunity would be lost of bringing many important resolutions before the notice of the existing Government, and this would be a distinct disadvantage to all Trade Unionists.

The next day, December 19th, 1907, your Committee met the Executive of the Labour Party at the latter's offices to discuss this question.

There were present, representing the Parliamentary Committee: Messrs. Shackleton, Bell, Cummings, Davis, Cooper, Sexton, Chandler, Gill, Bowerman, Mosses, Thorne, Williams, and Steadman. Labour Party: MacDonald, Hudson, Henderson, Curran, Stephenson, Pease, Turner, Robinson, Walker, Snowden.

Finally, after discussion, the following resolution, moved by Mr. Henderson, was adopted:—

First, that this joint meeting of the Parliamentary Committee and the Executive of the Labour Party have considered the question of "overlapping," and report that they have not yet been able to agree upon any plan to prevent it; second, the question of holding the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party Annual Conference consecutively was also discussed, and each Committee promised to further consider the matter and report.

INVESTMENT OF TRADE UNION FUNDS.

It will be remembered we reported to the last Congress that, in regard to the investment of Trade Union funds, the Parliamentary Committee had interviewed the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who promised to examine the question and do what he could to give effect to our legitimate object. On the 11th of June, 1907, Mr. Barnes asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he had yet had time to consider the question of the limit of deposits of Trade Unions in the Post Office Savings Bank, and, if so, would he make a statement on the matter. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied as follows: I am advised that there is no legal obstacle to allowing Trade Unions the benefit of the Savings Banks (Charitable Societies) Act, 1859, which enables provident institutions and societies to invest their funds in the savings banks without restriction as to amount, with the approval of the National Debt Commissioners and subject to such regulations as they may prescribe. In view of the financial considerations involved, the National Debt Commissioners would hesitate to sanction the deposit of the whole of the large funds in the possession of Trade Unions. I understand, however, that it is not urged by the unions themselves

that this should be permitted; their views would be met by the acceptance of deposits within the extended limits of £250 in any one year and £1,000 in the aggregate. I have under consideration the issue of regulations by the Commissioners to permit of the acceptance of deposits under such conditions. It would, of course, be understood that the right to exact ten days' notice of withdrawals, which exists as regards all deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks under section 3 of the Post Office Savings Banks Act, 1861, might have to be specially enforced in regard to withdrawals by Trade Unions.

Mr. Barnes: Does that provision apply to branches of Trade Unions?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer: Yes, to branches.

Since this statement was made in the House of Commons, the following is an excerpt from a letter sent to a savings bank from the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, London, in reference to the deposit of the funds of Trade Union societies:—

I am to add that the Commissioners have recently had under consideration the question of the deposit by Trade Union societies of their funds in savings banks, and that they will be prepared to give their approval to the receipt of funds—

1. Of a Trade Union whose rules have been registered by the Registrar of Friendly Societies;
2. Or any branch of such Trade Union governed by the same rules;
3. Or of any branch of a Trade Union with separate registered rules;

to an amount not exceeding £250 in the year and £1,000 in the whole, provided that in each case the application for the approval of the Commissioners is accompanied by an undertaking by the society or branch not to exceed these limits.

Your Committee accordingly circularised the trades communicating this information to them.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A LABOUR DAILY NEWSPAPER.

In agreement with the resolution passed at the Congress held in Bath in September last, instructing your Committee to convene a Special Conference of the Trade Unions, for the purpose of discussing ways and means for the establishment of a Labour daily newspaper, a Conference was held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Wednesday, the 26th February, which was attended by 108 delegates, representing 62 societies affiliated to Congress, with a membership of over 807,000.

In response to your Committee's invitation to the trades to send in proposals or suggestions to be submitted to the Special Conference, a carefully prepared scheme was received from the Executive Committee of the London Society of Compositors, which was issued to the various societies for their consideration prior to the Conference being held.

Having fully considered the proposals embodied in that scheme, your Committee unanimously decided to recommend it to the favourable consideration of the delegates attending the Conference, hoping that its acceptance might lay the foundation whereon the desire of Congress to see a Labour daily newspaper established may be realised. After nearly three hours' discussion in Conference, the delegates eventually and unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

That this Conference is in favour of the establishment of a Labour daily newspaper, and that the scheme now under consideration be adopted, and that the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to bring the same before the Joint Board as a basis for a joint scheme with a view to its being submitted to the whole of the Labour movement for ultimate adoption.

The following Trade Unions were represented at the Special Conference :—

Block Chain Makers' Association.	Northumberland Miners' Mutual Consolidated Association.
Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Ship Makers.	Paper Makers, Amalgamated Society.
Bookbinders, London Consolidated.	Paper Mill Workers.
Bookbinders and Machine Rulers.	Pattern Makers' Association, United.
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union.	Postmen's Federation.
Brassworkers' Society, Amalgamated Municipal Employés.	Printers' Assistants, National Society Operative.
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society.	Printing Machine Managers.
Carpenters and Joiners, General Union.	Printers' Warehousemen and Cutters.
Chain Makers and Strikers' Association.	Railway Servants, Amalgamated Society.
Cigar Makers' Mutual Association.	Scientific Instrument Makers.
Clerks, National Union.	Shipwrights' Society, Associated.
Coachmakers (United Kingdom) Society.	Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, etc., National Union.
Colliery Mechanics, Durham.	Smiths and Hammermen.
Correctors of the Press.	Spinners, Amalgamated Association.
Dock Labourers, National Union.	Spinners, Bolton Operative.
Dock, Wharf, etc., General Workers.	Steel Smelters, British.
Durham Miners.	Tailors and Tailoresses' Amalgamated Society.
Fawcett Association.	Theatrical Employés' National Union.
Felt Hatters, Society of Journey-men.	Toolmakers, Amalgamated.
French Polishers, Amalgamated Society.	Typographical Association.
Furnishing Trades Association.	Watermen, Lightermen, Amalgamated Society.
Gasworkers and General Labourers.	Weavers' Association, Blackburn.
House and Ship Painters, N.S. (Amalgamated).	Weavers' Association, Colne and District.
Lithographic Printers.	Weavers' Association, Hyde, etc.
London Carmen's Union.	Weavers' Association (Northern Counties).
Loom Overlookers.	Weavers' Association, Padiham.
London and Provincial Society of Compositors.	Weavers' Association, Sabden.
Machine Workers, United.	Weavers and Textile Workers, General Union.
Miners' Association, Forest of Dean.	Weavers and Textile Workers (Heavy Woollen).
Musicians, Amalgamated Union.	Weavers' Union, Burnley.

The following is the scheme submitted to and approved by the delegates attending the Conference :—

CAPITAL.

1. That the Parliamentary Committee at once take the necessary steps to form a limited liability company, with a capital of £100,000 in £1 shares, for the establishment of a Labour daily newspaper.

2. That the prospectus containing the invitation to subscribe be issued to all Trade Unions and other bodies affiliated to the Trades Union Congress, the Labour Party, and the General Federation of Trade Unions.

3. That the Parliamentary Committee recommend the affiliated societies to subscribe from their funds in the proportion of 1s. or more per member, and further to recommend the Executives of affiliated societies to invite

individual applications for shares, for which purpose the Parliamentary Committee shall issue a special form of application.

4. That the Parliamentary Committee proceed to allotment on a capital of not less than £75,000.

5. That failing to secure the £75,000 from the affiliated bodies, the Parliamentary Committee be empowered to accept applications for shares from any friends of the Labour movement, provided that the amount subscribed by the affiliated societies and individual members amounts to not less than £50,000.

PROFITS.

6. That subject to the maintenance of a substantial reserve fund, all the profits of the undertaking shall be secured to the shareholders.

PRINTING CONTRACT.

7. That provision be made for the company to enter into a twelve-months' contract for the printing of the paper, preferably with a firm having suitable offices for publishing, editorial, and advertising departments.

MANAGEMENT.

8. That provision be made for the shareholders to appoint a board of directors, who shall have complete control of the business affairs of the company. The directors shall appoint a managing editor, who shall be responsible to the board for the general management of the various departments. The managing editor to appoint the entire staff, including the heads of the advertising and publishing departments, and to have complete control of the paper, subject to the correction of the board of directors.

THE PAPER.

9. That it be a $\frac{1}{2}$ d. eight-page morning newspaper, produced and distributed on the same plan as existing $\frac{1}{2}$ d. dailies, under the title of *The Morning Herald*.

SALE OF SHARES.

Provision to be made for regulating the sale of shares, in order to prevent their appropriation in the open market.

At the June meeting of the Joint Board it was decided that an attempt should be made to discover how far it would be legal for Trade Unions to invest their funds in a speculative undertaking such as was suggested, and to this end Messrs. Shackleton, Steadman, MacDonald, and Appleton were instructed to wait upon the Registrar-General in order to obtain his view of the situation.

At the July meeting Messrs. Shackleton, Steadman, and Appleton reported having visited the Chief Registrar as instructed for the purpose of ascertaining the attitude of the Registrar towards the proposal to invest the money of Trade Unions in a company which was formed for the purpose of running a Labour daily newspaper.

The Registrar stated that he would register any rule having the aforesaid object in view, provided such rule was properly passed by the society adopting it, and suggested in the interests of the unions themselves that a model rule be drafted and adopted by the whole of the societies desiring to invest.

The report of the sub-committee was adopted, and they were instructed to complete the circular already considered, to draft the model rule, and to circulate these amongst the societies.

The Joint Board has given careful consideration to the whole subject for some time back, and to the project remitted to it by the Conference. It feels that it would be undesirable to start with less than £150,000 capital. Between £20,000 and £30,000 has already been promised privately by members of affiliated societies. This sum has been offered, we may say, on such conditions as will leave the Labour movement absolutely free in its control of the political and other sides of the paper. This means, therefore, that the unions will have to find from £100,000 to £120,000.

This ought not to be an impossibility for societies with an aggregate membership of a million and a-half. If they would contribute at the rate of 2s. per member, the sum necessary would be immediately raised; and seeing the vast importance of a daily newspaper to the Labour movement, in view of the impossibility it finds in getting its views placed before the public without bias, and in securing a proper backing in the Press during times of trade disputes, this ought not to be regarded as an unreasonable burden.

The Board wishes it to be understood, however, that the total capital would not be required all at once. One-half might be paid when allotment is definitely decided upon, and the other half in two instalments, the first of which would not be within a year of the allotment payment, and the second not within a further six months.

If you accept this suggestion, your membership being.....your guarantee would amount to £.....

We would be glad if your Executive would take this matter into careful consideration and report to us its decision.

For your information and guidance we desire to explain that, after having consulted the best authorities, we are in a position to state that there appears to be no legal limitation to your society's right to invest money in the way suggested, provided the intention to do so is clearly stated in the rules. The following model rule has been drafted by the Joint Board to meet the requirements of the Chief Registrar :—

“For the furtherance of the objects of this society (or association) the trustees shall have power to take up shares in a company formed for the purpose of printing and publishing a newspaper.”

Yours fraternally,

W. C. STEADMAN.

W. A. APPLETON,

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

LABOUR NEWSPAPER.—FORM OF UNDERTAKING.

On behalf of (insert name of Society or person):.....
 we undertake to subscribe £..... towards the capital required for the establishment of a
 Labour Daily Newspaper, and agree to pay one-half of this sum on the 1st day of November, 1908,
 or later day fixed, one-fourth on the 1st day of November, 1909, or any later day, and the remainder on the
 1st November, 1910, or any later day.

Signed on behalf of the (name of Society):.....

Signatures

.....

Office in Society.....

Address.....

Witness:

Signature.....

Address.....

Position.....

THE MINIMUM WAGE.

In conformity with the resolution of last Congress, your Committee instructed their secretary to put down a resolution on this subject for discussion in the House of Commons. Accordingly, on the 2nd March, 1908, Mr. Steadman gave notice of the following motion :—

To call the attention of this House to the rates of wages paid by his Majesty's Government in their workshops and factories within the County of London area. And to move that a minimum wage of 30s. per week be paid within the London district. However, not being successful in the ballot, the motion was not discussed.

THE CONTROL OF ENGINES AND BOILERS.

In order to obtain unity of action in Parliament on this question, a conference was arranged of representatives of the various enginemen's societies, which took place on February 20th, 1908, at the House of Commons. The societies represented were : Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, National Federation of Enginemen's Protective Association, Monmouthshire and South Wales Enginemen, Stokers, etc. (Colliery) Association, National Amalgamated Union of Enginemen, Amalgamated Society of Engine Drivers and Firemen (Land and Marine), Northern United Enginemen's Association, Grimsby Steam Fishing Vessels' Engineers and Firemen's Union, South Wales and Monmouth Enginemen's (Colliery Winding) Association, National Federation of Colliery Enginemen, Lancashire and Cheshire and North Wales Enginemen.

It was stated by Mr. C. Hearse that his society had requested Mr. John Wilson, M.P., to introduce the Bill promoted by his Federation.

The representatives of the other societies agreed that the general Bill should be introduced by the Parliamentary Committee. This was subsequently done by their representative, Mr. J. Haslam, M.P.

RESIGNATION OF SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, M.P.

The following correspondence took place on the occasion of the resignation and subsequent death of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman :—

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, G.C.B.

April 7th, 1908.

Dear Sir,—The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress have heard with considerable regret the announcement of your relinquishment of the Premiership, and followed with anxiety the unfortunate and protracted illness which has been responsible for such retirement.

The Parliamentary Committee desire to acknowledge the ready assistance and support which you have at all times given to questions and measures affecting the interests of Labour, and they join most earnestly with the masses of their fellow-countrymen in expressing the hope that you may speedily be restored to health, and that for many years you may be spared in which to enjoy repose from the strenuous and beneficial political activities in which you have so long and so honourably been engaged.

Yours respectfully, W. C. STEADMAN.

10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.,

7th April, 1908.

Dear Mr. Steadman,—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is deeply touched by the kindly and sympathetic letter which you have been so good as to send to him on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Congress. It is a satisfaction to him to think that he has been in a position to share in the accomplishment of the reforms to which you allude ; and he desires me to say that he attaches peculiar value to the friendly recognition on the part of your Committee of such services as he has been enabled to render.

Believe me, yours very truly, VAUGHAN NASH.

London, April 22nd, 1908.

Vaughan Nash, Esq., 10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.

Dear Sir,—It is with feelings of deep and sincere regret that the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress have heard the sad news of the death of the

Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and they respectfully desire that you will convey to the relatives of the deceased statesman, in the name of organised Labour, an expression of the sympathy felt at the loss of so true and consistent a friend of Labour—a loss which will be universally felt and regretted.

Yours faithfully,

W. C. STEADMAN.

DEPUTATION TO MR. H. GLADSTONE (HOME SECRETARY).

On Wednesday, the 1st of April, Messrs. D. J. Shackleton (Chairman), A. H. Gill (vice-chairman), G. N. Barnes, and C. W. Bowerman (in the absence of Mr. Steadman, through illness), on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee, waited upon the Home Secretary with reference to the question of compulsory State insurance in order that workmen awarded damages under the Workmen's Compensation Act might be assured of receiving the amounts so adjudged by the Courts.

In introducing the subject, Mr. Shackleton reminded Mr. Gladstone that when the matter was raised in the House during the discussion upon the Workmen's Compensation Bill, he (Mr. Gladstone) had promised to give it due consideration in the light of the experience gained under the working of the Act, to which Mr. Gladstone replied that he had given consideration to the point which had been raised, and was prepared to advise the appointment of a Committee to deal with the subject. He urged that it should be inquired into by a body empowered to take the evidence of witnesses upon oath, and therefore he suggested that it should be a Royal Commission rather than a Committee of the House or a Departmental Committee, remarking at the same time that to appoint a Royal Commission would involve a delay of probably two years in dealing with the matter.

The attitude of insurance companies generally towards the suggestion of compulsory State insurance was discussed with Mr. Gladstone, who thought there would be opposition on their part, but he suggested that as we desired to deal only with the smaller employer who at present preferred to "take the risk" rather than insure, State insurance might be optional, so long as it was compulsory on the part of employers to make some insurance provision.

DEPUTATION TO MR. L. V. HARCOURT.

(First Commissioner of Works.)

On Thursday, the 2nd of April, Messrs. D. J. Shackleton, A. H. Gill, and C. W. Bowerman waited upon the First Commissioner of Works in his room in the House of Commons with regard to the resolution passed at the Bath Congress in relation to the opening of Hyde Park to hackney carriages.

It was explained to Mr. Harcourt by the deputation that the desire of the cabdrivers was that they should be permitted to carry fares through the park, but that they did not seek permission to ply for hire there. Mr. Harcourt was reminded that as a result of a previous deputation from the Committee, with two representatives from the Cabmen's Union, waiting upon him regarding this particular request in June last, he had promised to consider the application.

In replying to the deputation, Mr. Harcourt said that he had given further consideration to this matter, but was not in a position to accede to the request. He stated that, with the exception of one roadway (which he admitted was a long one), cabs could at present be driven through the park, and that there were considerations attaching to this particular road which prevented him from complying with the wish of the deputation. If cabs were allowed to be driven through, why not motor-buses, he said, and he further explained that it was his strong desire not to diminish the enjoyment of the pedestrians in the park by unnecessarily increasing the vehicular traffic.

Although the point was emphasised that it was only cabs with fares for railway stations, etc., on whose behalf the deputation sought to remove the restriction, Mr. Harcourt maintained firmly that he was quite unable to comply with the request, and there the matter rests.

TRANSVAAL MINERS.

In July, 1907, the Parliamentary Committee, in response to an appeal from the Transvaal Miners' Association for assistance in support of miners out on strike, decided to make an appeal to the Trade Unions of Great Britain on their behalf. It was pointed out that the mineowners had brought about the dispute for the purpose of ousting the free whites, so that they might replace them by servile labour, and by this means prevent Labour organisations coming into existence.

We are pleased to say that the appeal was well responded to. The Miners' Federation of Great Britain led the way by cabling £1,000 to the men. The Durham Miners' Association also sent £500 soon after.

The following is a list of the subscriptions received from other Trade Unions, etc. :—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Mr. W. Burnes	0	5	0	Leicester No. 2 Branch Boot and Shoe Operatives	10	0	0
Mr. A. McDoughall	2	0	0	Leicester and District Weavers ..	5	0	0
Mr. G. Edwards	0	2	6	London Society Brassworkers...	0	10	6
Mr. A. P. Brown	0	3	0	London Saddle and Harness Makers	5	0	0
A Friend	0	10	0	Steel and Iron Workers, Amalgamated	3	0	0
Mr. Young	0	10	6	Sheffield Bookbinders and Machine Rulers	5	0	0
British Workman	0	2	6	Amalgamated Society Lithographic Printers	5	0	0
Toolmakers' Society	10	10	0	Woolwich District Trades Council	1	0	0
German Workman	0	2	0	Bury Card and Blowing Room Operatives	2	2	0
Glass Blowers' Society	5	0	0	Scarborough Trades Council ...	0	5	0
Stevedores' Protection League...	5	0	0	Cricket Ball Makers	0	10	0
Typographical Association	10	0	0	Cigar Makers	1	0	0
Boot and Shoe Operatives' Union	50	0	0	Tin and Sheet Millmen's Association	2	2	0
Pen and Pocket Blade Forgers..	0	10	0	Cleveland Miners' Association.	50	0	0
Day Working Bookbinders	1	1	0	Table and Butcher Knife Hafters' Trade Society	2	0	0
Leeds Trades Council	1	0	0	Glossop and Hadfield Trades Council	0	10	0
Southport Trades Council	0	10	0	United Turners and Wood Workers	1	1	0
North Wales Quarrymen	5	5	0	Northern Counties' Weavers ...	50	0	0
Scottish Typographical Association	2	2	0	Chorley Trades and Labour Council	0	10	0
Postal Telegraph Clerks	2	2	0	Association Operative Plasterers.	50	0	0
Amalgamated Slaters, Scotland.	1	0	0	Cardiff Coal Trimmers	2	2	0
Basford Hosiery Trimmers	1	0	0	Glasgow Machine Engine Society	2	0	0
Amalgamated Co-operative Employés	2	2	0	London Society Machine Rulers	0	10	6
Postmen's Federation	10	10	0	Amalgamated Society Brush-makers	1	10	0
Vellum Bookbinders	0	10	0	Upholsterers Trimming Makers' Union	1	1	0
United French Polishers	2	0	0	Woolwich Workers' Union	1	0	0
London Society Compositors ...	40	0	0	Durham Deputies Mutual Aid Association	25	0	0
Printing Machine Managers	2	2	0	Amalgamated Glovers' Society.	2	3	6
Association Trimming Weavers.	0	10	6				
H. J. Ogden	2	0	0				
Preston Trades Council	2	2	0				
Amalgamated Society Carpenters and Joiners	5	0	0				
Oldham Overlookers	1	1	0				
London Hand Sewn Boot and Shoe Makers	1	0	0				
Power Loom Overlookers	1	0	0				
Wellingboro' Boot and Shoe Operatives	2	2	0				
Sheffield Silversmiths	3	0	0				
Norwich Boot and Shoe Operatives	1	0	0				

£404 12 6

S. H. WHITEHOUSE, }
WALTER GEE, } Auditors.

The following letters were received in connection with the foregoing appeal:—

Transvaal Miners' Association,

Head Office : 2, Trades Hall, Johannesburg,

August 24th, 1907

Mr. Steadman, M.P., House of Commons, London, England.

Dear Sir,—On behalf of our association I beg to thank you for the able assistance which you have rendered us during our struggle against the mining houses, which, I may say, has enabled us to keep the banner of Trade Unionism afloat. We have been beaten, not by the magnates, but by Chinese, which shows us the need there is for the labouring classes here and at home to use their utmost endeavours to get the Chinese out of the country as soon as possible, or in time there will be no use for the white men in the Transvaal.

As to the questions we fought on, I have every confidence that we will now obtain justice through the Commission which is sitting.

The magnates are blacklisting all our leading men in connection with the union, but we will put up a hard fight to maintain our position. We have one good friend in J. B. Robinson, the only "white man" in connection with the mines.

With best wishes,

I am, yours fraternally,

M. TREWICK, General Secretary.

Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.,

March 16th, 1908.

The Secretary, Parliamentary Committee Trades Union Congress.

Dear Sir,—I have to-day forwarded draft for £84 12s. 6d. to the secretary of the Transvaal Miners' Association, being the final payment in connection with your appeal on behalf of the miners on strike. The cost of draft and exchange amounted to 9s.

Perhaps you will permit me to take advantage of this occasion to thank you for the kind and sympathetic way in which you made easy for me a self-imposed task. The action of your Committee materially helped at a critical juncture to prevent the complete destruction of Trade Unionism on the Rand and kept alive a germ of freedom which may yet grow to proportions that will be a satisfaction to you. The strike ended the Chinese labour system, and that sufficiently justifies it.

With best wishes,

I remain, yours very sincerely,

R. L. OUTHWAITE.

Transvaal Miners' Association,

Head Office, No. 2, Trades Hall, Johannesburg,

July 18th, 1908.

To the Secretary, the Trades Union Congress, London.

Dear Sir,—I am instructed by my Executive to forward you a hearty vote of thanks for your support, whereby we have received financial assistance from the Trades Congress, which, I may state, has been a great help to us as a society in our hard struggle.

Hoping you accept our thanks as hearty as given.

With best wishes, yours fraternally,

M. TREWICK, General Secretary.

During the past year correspondence and deputations have taken place between the Parliamentary Committee and Government Departments in reference to "unfair" firms and breaches of the Fair Wages Resolution in the execution of contracts. The following are the names of the Trade Unions and Government Departments concerned:—

Trade Union.	Government Department.	Date.
National Amalgamated Society of Enginemen, Cranemen, Boilermen, Firemen, etc.	War Office.....	Sept., 1907
Midland Counties Trades Federation	India Office	Oct., 1907 & May, 1908
Amalgamated Society of Brassworkers	Post Office	Oct., 1907
Weavers and Textile Workers.....	War Office	Nov., 1908
National Society of Glass Makers.....	War Office and Admiralty..	April, 1908
Amalgamated Society of Brassworkers	Admiralty	Aug., 1908

REFORM OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE.

UNPAID SUNDAY DUTY ON RAILWAYS.

The resolutions on these two subjects were referred by the Bath Congress to your Committee and sent to the Labour members of Parliament.

On the subject of unpaid Sunday duty on railways, Mr. Walkden, the General Secretary of the Railway Clerks' Association, wrote on the 13th March asking the Parliamentary Committee to use their influence in the House of Commons in order to block the Cheshire Lines Bill. The matter was entrusted to Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., who, after making inquiries, reported that the Bill had been read a first time on the 3rd February, and reached its second reading on the 2nd March, and that it was then before a Committee of the House. Consequently it was too late to comply with the request of the Railway Clerks' Association.

COMMITTEE ON "HALF-TIMERS."

In July last the President of the Board of Education appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee:—

1. To inquire into and report upon the extent to which existing enactments relating to partial exemption from compulsory school attendance are taken advantage of in urban and rural areas in England and Wales; the occupations in which children so exempted are employed; and the effect of such occupations upon the general education and industrial training of the children.

2. To consider the practical effects of legislation providing for the abolition or restriction of half-time employment upon industries and wage-earning, and upon educational organisation and expenditure.

3. To report whether, and to what extent, in view of these considerations, it is desirable to amend the law by raising the age at which partial exemption from attendance at public elementary schools is to be permitted, or by raising the *minimum* age for total exemption concurrently with affording facilities for partial exemption.

The Committee consists of:—

Mr. T. McKinnon Wood, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Education (chairman); Lord Clifford of Chudleigh; Lord Stanley of Alderley; Mr. Walter R. Rea, M.P.; Mr. H. M. Lindsell, C.B., a Principal Assistant Secretary of the Board of Education; Mr. G. Bellhouse, one of his Majesty's Superintending Inspectors of Factories; Mr. Joseph Cross, of Accrington, Secretary of the Northern Counties Weavers' Amalgamation; Mr. Tom Garnett, of Manchester; Mr. Allen Gee, of Huddersfield, General Secretary of the General Union of Weavers and Textile Workers; Mr. Mark Oldroyd, of Dewsbury; with Mr. C. E. Sykes, an Examiner of the Board of Education, as secretary.

COAL MINES' EIGHT HOURS BILL.

The Parliamentary Committee sent a whip to every member of Parliament asking him to vote for the Government's Eight Hours Bill, the Second Reading of which was discussed on Monday, June 22nd, 1908.

This debate was adjourned, but was resumed on the 6th July, when the voting for the amendment for its rejection was as follows:—

For the amendment	120
Against	390
<hr/>	
Majority against	270

The Bill was then read a second time, and referred to the Grand Committee.

At the first meeting of the two groups of Labour members, which took place on the 7th July, the subject of joint action upon this Bill was considered, and it was decided that the preparation of amendments should be left to the Executive of the Miners' Federation and those Labour members who were to be placed upon the Grand Committee.

The consideration of the Bill was begun on the 27th July by Standing Committee C of the House of Commons. After a delay caused by the discovery that neither Mr. Gladstone, the Home Secretary, nor Mr. H. Samuel, the Under-Secretary for the Department—the Ministers in charge of the Bill—had been added to the Committee, which necessitated an adjournment till the Committee of Selection had repaired the omission, the consideration of clause 1 was proceeded with. A long discussion ensued on an amendment which proposed that the limitation of hours below ground should not apply if two-thirds of the workers in any district were opposed to it. The amendment was resisted by the Home Secretary, and eventually rejected by 28 to 8 votes.

The further consideration of the measure will be taken in the Autumn Session.

COAL MINES (CHECKWEIGHERS) BILL.

This Bill, promoted by the Miners' Federation, was on the order paper for discussion on the 29th May, but the Deputy Speaker ruled that clauses 2 and 3 contravened the title of the Bill, and therefore it could not proceed. The measure was, accordingly, withdrawn.

DEATH CERTIFICATES.

The question of cheaper death certificates for the members of Trade Unions was submitted to Mr. Gladstone at the deputation to him from your Committee on the 30th January, 1908. Mr. Gladstone on that occasion made the following remarks:—

“I think it would not be at all a bad thing—and I do not think it would be a very difficult thing—for a private member to bring in a Bill, and thus draw attention to this grievance. I should certainly look upon it with a very friendly eye. If a private member's Bill deals with something really required, it sometimes gets a better chance than a Government measure.”

Acting upon this suggestion, a sub-committee was appointed to draw up a Bill, and, at the request of your Committee, their vice-president, Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P., consented to take charge of it in the House of Commons.

The following is a copy of this Bill:—

A Bill to amend the Births and Deaths Registration Act, 1836, for the purpose of reducing the Charges for Death Certificates in certain cases.

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. From and after the passing of this Act, a certificate of the death of any member of a Trade Union for the purpose of drawing any benefit from such union, shall, on application being made by any member or officer of such Trade Union be given under his hand by the registrar of deaths for a sum not exceeding *one shilling* in place of all fees or payments otherwise payable in respect thereof.

2. Whenever application is made at any one time to any such registrar for more certificates than one of the same death for the same purpose, the sum charged for every such certificate other than the first shall not exceed *sixpence*.

3. Whenever the registrar is required by the person applying for any certificate of death to fill up the form of application, he may demand a sum not exceeding *threepence* for so doing.

4. For the purposes of this Act the expression "registrar of deaths" shall include any person having the care of the register of deaths in which the death is entered.

5. In this Act the expression "Trade Union" has the same meaning as in the Trade Union Acts, 1871 and 1876, and shall include any combination as therein defined, notwithstanding that such combination may be the branch of a Trade Union.

6. This Act shall come into operation on *the first day of January one thousand nine hundred and nine*.

7. This Act may be cited as the Births, Deaths, and Marriages (Trade Union Death Certificates) Amendment Act, 1908.

When this Bill was introduced a deputation from the Registrars waited upon Mr. Gill and stated that they would not offer any opposition to the measure if a clause was inserted making it compulsory on all Trade Unions to demand the production of a death certificate in the case of the decease of one of their members.

Your Committee duly considered the question at their meeting in March, and resolved to adhere strictly to the instructions given to them by the Trades Union Congress, and support the Bill brought in by Mr. Gill.

CIRCULAR ISSUED BY THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD RE THE USE OF MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS.

The following circular was issued by Mr. John Burns, M.P., President of the Local Government Board, in agreement with the promise made to the deputation from the Parliamentary Committee on January 29th, and copies were forwarded by the Board to over 12,000 different authorities :—

"Circular. Councils of Boroughs, Urban, Rural, and Parish Councils, and Guardians.

"USE OF BUILDINGS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES FOR MEETINGS OF TRADE UNIONS AND OTHER BODIES.

"Local Government Board, Whitehall, S.W.,

"March, 1908.

"Sir,—I am directed by the Local Government Board to state that representations have been made to them as to the difficulty experienced by Trade Unions, friendly societies, and other similar bodies in finding accommodation for their meetings in existing buildings, except in public-houses or other licensed premises. Inquiries have been made of the Board as to the power of the local authorities to render assistance in order to meet this difficulty, and the President lately received a deputation on the subject.

"The Board direct me to state that, whilst a local authority would not be empowered under the general law to provide buildings for meetings of the bodies referred to, yet where the authority are in possession of a Town Hall or offices provided for their own meetings or for the transaction of their business, it is competent for them to place the accommodation thus provided, when not required for their own purposes, at the service of any of these bodies on terms which may enable them to have a temporary use of the premises without expense to the local authority.

"The Board are desirous of bringing this matter under the notice of the local authorities. They cannot but feel that it is very undesirable that the bodies referred to should be compelled to hold their meetings on licensed premises, especially when it is remembered that the business transacted at these meetings often necessitates the presence of women and children for a considerable time. The temptations and the evil results arising from this

state of things are well known to local authorities and particularly to Boards of Guardians, and the Board trust that the local authorities will be willing to allow the use of their buildings for the purposes of the meetings referred to where the circumstances admit of their so doing. It will be necessary that arrangements should be made to prevent any expense from falling on the local authority, but the Board do not apprehend that there will be any difficulty in this being done.

"Usually no consent on the part of the Board will be requisite to the use of the buildings for the purposes mentioned. In the case of the letting of the room in a workhouse or in the office of a Poor Law Union, such consent should be obtained, but the Board will be ready to give it, subject to the Guardians reserving to themselves the power to determine the arrangement if at any time it is regarded as detrimental to the use of the buildings for Poor Law purposes.

"Parish Councils are authorised by section 8(1) (a) of the Local Government Act, 1894, to provide or acquire buildings for public offices and for meetings and for any purposes connected with parish business or with the powers or duties of the Parish Council or Parish Meeting.

"Section 33 of the Act empowers the Board, on the application of the Council of a Borough or Urban District, to confer on them any of the powers of a Parish Council, and the Board have in exercise of this power, in many instances conferred on the Councils of Boroughs and Urban Districts the powers of a Parish Council under section 8(1) (a) with regard to the provision or acquisition of buildings for public offices and for meetings.

"They may also draw attention to the power given to the Metropolitan Borough Councils under the London County Council (General Powers) Act, 1893, of providing halls and buildings partly for the purpose of transacting their own business and partly for the purpose of public meetings, and of adapting or altering their existing town halls and offices for these purposes.

"I am directed to add that this circular will be placed on sale, so that copies may shortly be obtained from Messrs. Wyman and Sons, Limited, Fetter Lane, E.C., either directly or through any bookseller.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"S. P. PROBIS, Secretary.

"The Town Clerk, *or* the Clerk to the Urban or Rural District Council, *or* the Clerk to the Guardians, *or* the Clerk to the Parish Council."

Through the courtesy of Mr. Burns, we have received the following summary of the replies to this circular received by the Local Government Board. This is quite voluntary, as a reply was not asked for, and, considering the short time the circular had been issued, is decidedly encouraging.

	No. of replies.
Ample accommodation in other buildings already at the disposal of such bodies	5
Local authority have provided facilities for meetings of such bodies	23
Local authority will <i>favourably</i> consider any application made to them	6
Local authority will consider any such application	2
Local authority either do not possess a building or have not sufficient accommodation for meetings of Trade Unions, etc. ...	6
Town Hall not available, but hall at schools or public baths can be hired on agreed terms	2
Suggestion of Local Government Board will be borne in mind	1

Total number of replies 45

CONGRESS BILLS.

The following are the Congress Bills which have been introduced during the past session :—

Engine and Boilers (Persons in Charge)	Mr. J. Haslam, M.P.
Hours of Labour (Bakehouses)	Mr. A. Wilkie, M.P.
Textile Workers (Saturday and Sunday Holidays)	Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P.
Housing of the Working Classes, etc.....	Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P.
Shop Clubs Act (1902) Amendment	Mr. J. Ward, M.P.
Character Note	Mr. R. Bell, M.P.
Nationalisation of Canals and Railways.....	Mr. W. Thorne, M.P.
Education of the Blind	Mr. W. C. Steadman, M.P.
Factory and Workshops Act (1901) Amendment	Mr. W. C. Steadman, M.P.
General Eight Hours Bill	Mr. W. Thorne, M.P.
Highways Bill (Vehicular Traffic)	Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P.
Death Certificates (Charges) Bill	Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P.
Cheap Trains Act (Amendment) Bill	Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P.
Better Regulation of Home Industries	Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P.

METAL GRINDING REGULATIONS.

The following correspondence has been received in connection with new regulations affecting metal-grinding trades :—

“Home Office, 2nd July, 1908.

“SIR,—The attention of the Home Office has been directed to the serious effect of the dry grinding of metal and the racing (or trimming) of grindstones upon the health of workmen engaged in these processes.

“This is clearly brought out by the recent statistics of phthisis in that industry at Sheffield, and at meetings recently held there the enclosed draft of Regulations under section 79 of the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, was unanimously adopted by representatives of the Cutlers' Company, the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce, and the workmen.

“The factories and processes to which it is proposed that the regulations should apply are indicated in the schedules, and it will be observed that exemption is intended for ‘occasional grinding.’

“Inquiry is being made as to the bearing of the proposed requirements upon industries in other localities. Before any regulations are made a further and formal issue in draft will take place, and full opportunity of stating objections will then be given to all parties concerned.

“I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

“B. A. WHITELEGGE, Chief Inspector of Factories.

“W. C. Steadman, Esq., M.P., Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, 42, Effingham House, Arundel Street, W.C.”

DRAFT REGULATIONS.

To apply to all factories of the classes named in Schedule 1, including tenement factories and tenements thereof in which no person is employed by the occupier.

Provided that nothing in these regulations shall apply to the occasional grinding of tools in use, if done by a workman, incidentally in the course of his other employment, in a room in which grinding is not carried on for more than six hours in any week.

DEFINITION.

For the purpose of these regulations

Grinding means the dry abrasion of metal, with the aid of mechanical power, by means of a grindstone, or of a grinding wheel made of compressed emery or other similar composition.

DUTIES.

Addition required with regard to regulation 3.

It shall be the duty of the occupier to provide and maintain the appliances required for the purposes of these regulations ;

Provided that in respect of a tenement factory the owner or other person who supplies the power shall be substituted for the occupier.

Provided further, that if a room in a tenement factory is in the sole occupation of one occupier, on a half-yearly or longer tenancy, that occupier may, by written agreement, with the owner or person supplying the power, of which agreement a copy is kept attached to the general register, undertake the whole or any of the above duties in respect of that room.

It shall be the duty of every person who is engaged in dry grinding or in racing or in any process included in Schedule II. to observe these regulations, and to make proper and full use of the appliances provided for the purposes of these regulations, and to keep the appliances, so far as they are under his control, in a cleanly state and free from obstruction, and to report forthwith to the occupier, owner, or manager any defect in the same.

1. No dry grinding and no finishing process included in Schedule II. shall be done without the use of adequate appliances for the interception and removal of the dust, as near as possible to the point of origin thereof, and for the purposes of this regulation the appliances shall not be deemed adequate unless they include

(a) A hood, so constructed, arranged, and placed as to intercept the dust thrown off; and

(b) A duct of adequate size, air-tight, and so arranged as to be capable of carrying the dust away from the hood, which duct shall be provided with sufficient means of access for inspection and cleaning, and shall be kept free from obstruction; and

(c) A fan or other efficient means of producing an exhaust draught, sufficient to carry away the dust; and

(d) Adequate provision for the proper disposal of the extracted dust so that it shall not enter any occupied room.

2. No grindstone shall be raced except with use of such precautions as will effectually prevent the escape of dust into the room; whether by means of a cover and adequate exhaust draught, or by means of an adequate stream of water directed upon the point of contact of the racing tool, with the grindstone, or by other equivalent means.

Provided that this regulation shall not apply to the racing of any grindstone in the open air, or in a room in which no work other than racing is at any time carried on, if suitable respirators are provided for the use of all persons engaged in racing, and are worn by all such persons while so engaged.

3. In every room in which is carried on any process to which these regulations apply :—

(a) The floor shall be firm and capable of being cleaned; and in the case of new buildings or extensions shall be watertight.

(b) The floor and uncovered parts of the machinery and tools shall at least once on a fixed day in each week be thoroughly cleansed from dust by the workmen employed in each room, who shall be jointly and severally responsible for such cleaning, which cleansing in the case of floors shall be done in the damp state.

(c) The walls shall be painted or lime-washed, or thoroughly washed down at least once in each year.

(d) The windows shall be kept thoroughly clean by the workman.

(e) Each workman shall each evening leave his work-place free from dust.

SCHEDULE I.

Factories in which the following processes, or any of them, are carried on :—

The manufacture of cutlery.

The manufacture of tools.

The manufacture of cutting and piercing instruments and appliances of iron or steel.

SCHEDULE II.

The processes of :—

Dry rough glazing in which emery or similar abrading material is used without the admixture of grease.

Any other finishing process after grinding in which dust is created to an extent liable to be injurious to health.

ACCIDENTS IN FACTORIES.

On the 3rd June, 1908, the increase of fatal and non-fatal accidents in factories and workshops was brought to the notice of the House of Commons, and the Labour members of Parliament asked that immediate attention should be paid to the matter. Mr. Gladstone, the Home Secretary, who spoke at considerable length, undertook to agree to the appointment either of a Departmental Committee or of a Select Committee to inquire into what classes of factories and workshops the increase in accidents had taken place and into the causes of the increase, and to report as to what fresh legislative or administrative measures should be taken for prevention.

CHECKWEIGHMEN FOR IRON TRADE.

The Departmental Committee appointed to consider the best method of securing to workmen in the iron and steel trades, who are paid by weight, the means of checking the correctness of their wages have issued their report.

In the cases of blast and puddling furnace work, the manufacturer of steel ingots (except in special cases which could be referred to arbitration) in the finishing departments and in the production of tin plates, it is recommended that power be given to appoint checkweighmen. No difficulties appear to have arisen in regard to the present system of paying forgers, and no recommendation is made.

It is also suggested that in any legislation on the subject provision should be made prohibiting the checkweighman from impeding the work, defining his appointment, and making the divulgence of trade secrets by him a criminal offence.

STANDING ORDER NO. 20, DEALING WITH DISPUTES.

In recommending Congress to revert to the Standing Order dealing with disputes between affiliated societies which was in operation until last year, your Committee desire to submit to the delegates the following considerations :—

Since the alteration made in the Standing Order at the Bath Congress, and under the terms of the paragraph :—

“ In the event of any charge being made against any society that its members are pursuing a policy which is calculated to injure the members of the society complaining, the matter in dispute shall be submitted to arbitration,” etc.,

your Committee have been called upon to intervene in many cases of dispute which, in their judgment, ought not to have been submitted to them, and which they do not believe Congress would desire them to deal with ; and your Committee are strongly of opinion that similar disputes could be more satisfactorily dealt with were they submitted to a federation of the trades directly concerned. These disputes have varied in character. In one instance, the manner in which one secretary was dismissed and his successor appointed, involving a most regrettable division in the membership, was referred to your Committee for adjudication ; in another, the methods of conducting organising work by one society was strongly resented by another on the ground that such work was entered upon for the purpose of, and had succeeded in, drawing away some of its members ; in a third case, injudicious but deliberate statements made at public meetings by officials of a competing organisation concerning the methods adopted by the officials of another society to improve the position of its members ; and in another case, a dispute or unpleasantness which arose through the difficulty of getting three separate unions to take combined action upon a subject directly affecting one of the three bodies, the members of these organisations being employed in practically one profession or industry. These are some of the matters with which, under the amended Standing Order, your Committee have been called upon to deal during the year under review.

Under the old Standing Order your Committee's intervention was invited only by societies prepared to make clear, definite, and direct charges—mainly, cases of blacklegging—and, as a rule, no particular difficulty was experienced in fixing the responsibility for such disputes, and in adjudging the costs of the inquiry ; but, under the existing Standing Order, all sorts of side issues have been raised, in some instances problematical rather than direct injuries have been urged as likely to arise from the action complained of, and it has been found extremely difficult to concentrate the inquiry upon any definite issue, with the result that at the termination of the inquiry there has been refusal to pay the costs.

Further, in one instance, after your Committee had been called upon to intervene, and judgment had been recorded, repudiation by the offending society has followed, and a claim put forward that the inquiry should be reopened and referred to outside arbitrators, although in this respect no provision has been made in the Standing Order as to the manner in which the expenses of such a tribunal should be met.

Under these circumstances, and in the light of the experience of the past year, your Committee strongly and unanimously recommend Congress to revert to the previous Standing Order governing the inquiry into and settlement of disputes between affiliated societies, feeling assured that the results secured under it were, in the main, distinctly more satisfactory to the societies involved in dispute, and certainly more economical so far as expense is concerned.

THE GOVERNMENT HOUSING BILL.

Mr. Burns (President of the Local Government Board) moved the Second Reading of the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Bill on May 12th. He explained that the Bill proposed to make Part III. of the 1890 Act applicable without adoption, and to give power to acquire land compulsorily without any additional allowance for compulsion, and with only a single arbitrator, like the Small Holdings Act. The Public Works Loans Commissioners were to be empowered to lend money at the lowest rate of interest for 80 years, and the interest was not to vary with the duration of the loan. The Bill also empowered the L.G.B. to set the Attorney-General in motion with regard to trust money held in abeyance. Every County Council was to appoint a medical officer of health with full powers over housing and health inspection. Mr. Burns explained the drift of clauses 26 and 27, the object of the latter being to compel the landlord to keep his house in good repair, as well as having it in good repair at the beginning of the tenancy, and they raised the rateable limits for that purpose to £40 in London and £16 elsewhere. He did not intend to appoint *ad hoc* Commissioners, but to add to the number of departmental inspectors. He had been reorganising the public health and housing departments of the L.G.B. ; he proposed to bring in a consolidating measure when this Bill was passed, and he proposed that the L.G.B. should publish a monthly journal, which should do for housing, infant mortality, public health, and kindred matters what the *Labour Gazette* did for Labour.

We regret that while the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Bill contains a number of minor improvements as regards procedure, etc., it fails to provide financial assistance to the local authorities in their arduous and expensive task of dealing with overcrowding and slums. In that respect the Bill falls very far short of the Government's own legislation for housing in the rural districts of Ireland, and does not come up to the standard of the resolutions of many successive Congresses.

The Bill might be said to divide itself under three heads. There was that portion of it which dealt with town planning. There were several clauses which dealt with amendments to the existing law ; and there was that portion which dealt with rural housing, and rural sanitary administration.

Sec. 3 of the Bill provided that the Public Works Loan Commissioners should lend to a local authority at the minimum rate allowed for the time being for loans out of the local loans fund. But was that enough ? The evidence before the Select Committee had established that the minimum rate had varied materially and often was not, and at the present moment actually was not, low enough to effect the object aimed at. The rates had varied in the past from $2\frac{3}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The rate was $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. in 1898. The existing rate of interest charged to local authorities (as fixed by the Treasury minute of 3rd March, 1904) was as follows : $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for a loan repayable in 20 years ; $3\frac{3}{4}$ for 30 years ; 4 for 40 years ; and $4\frac{1}{4}$ for 50 years. For the purposes of Part III. of the Housing Act, 1890, the Commissioners would not lend for longer than 50 years, and quoted $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. as their minimum rate of interest. What the difference between $2\frac{3}{4}$ and $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. meant in practice might be seen by applying it to the concrete case of a house costing £200 to build. It was equal to £3 a year in the rent, or £60 in the capital. The least, therefore, that they ought to press for was what was provided in the Bill introduced in 1906, and recommended by the Committee, viz., that the Treasury should be called upon to advance money for the housing purposes at the lowest rate of interest not involving loss on the loan. In 1897 the rate of interest was actually as low as $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. for a 30 years' loan.

Since then it had been gradually raised to $3\frac{3}{4}$ and to $4\frac{1}{4}$ for a 50 years' loan, and it was actually suggested to the Select Committee, in reply to

questions when it was done, that it was to put a check on borrowing by local authorities. Such an attitude on the part of either the Public Loan Commissioners or the Treasury would be disastrous to housing reform. The Bill will not touch vitally the problem of the large towns, where the most important difficulty was the want of means.

SHOPS BILL.

Sir C. Dilke moved the Second Reading of the Shops Bill, as it was the wish of the National Union of Shop Assistants that he should continue to be in charge of the fortunes of this Bill in the House of Commons. The objections of the Ricardo school to stringent labour legislation on the ground of prejudice to import and export trade were not raised by this Bill; and as to those raised on the ground of interference with individual personal liberty, the Act of 1904 had already introduced the principle of the restriction of the hours of grown persons in shops into the English law.

Mr. Gladstone said nothing which came before the House was of higher importance than questions directly affecting the health of the people. Even the hon. baronet the member for the City of London would probably admit that, if it could be shown that long hours of work under unsatisfactory conditions were directly detrimental to the health of a considerable portion of the population, the State should interfere to remedy the evil. The hon. baronet shook his head. He must, therefore, beg respectfully to differ from him. They were, at any rate, practically agreed that, whether a particular remedy was right or not, the hours in shops were unduly long. He looked with great sympathy upon the object of the Bill. It might be said that the provision imposing a *maximum* per week of 60 hours was another act of direct interference to control the hours of adult labour. He had long ceased to be terrified by the prospect of interfering with the so-called free discretion of adults to work themselves to death. The Act of 1904 involved interference with adult labour. How were they to prevent the child of a shopkeeper from doing odd jobs after closing hours? They would never prevent it. With regard to the exemptions provided for in the schedule, there would be great difficulties in connection with those shops which combined different trades. He was not unfriendly to the purpose of the Bill. But if he voted for the Second Reading he must dissociate himself from some of its clauses, and reserve to himself a free hand with regard to its proceeding. He reaffirmed the opinion he expressed last year that the existing legislation had practically broken down and required to be strengthened. But having regard to the state of the business of the House it was not possible for this Bill to make progress this session. If this Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole House, he would undertake to defer it and introduce it next year, and he hoped that course would satisfy his right hon. friend. The Government were actively friendly to the purpose of the Bill, and if he undertook to bring in a Bill to strengthen the existing law next year, he hoped that course would commend itself to the House.

The House divided on the question that the Bill be read a second time, and the numbers were:—

For the Second Reading	190
Against	45
Majority	145

Mr. Herbert Samuel moved that the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole House.

The House divided, and the numbers were :—

For the motion	139
Against	23
Majority	116

We express the hope that the Government will take this matter up next year, and introduce and pass a measure which will reduce the long hours which have now to be worked by thousands of shop assistants.

DISPUTES.

The following disputes between different Trade Unions have been inquired into by the Parliamentary Committee under Standing Order 20, and decisions given :—

AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF RAILWAY SERVANTS *v.* THE ASSOCIATED SOCIETY OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS AND FIREMEN.

The Parliamentary Committee, having been applied to by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants to institute an inquiry under Standing Order No. 20 into certain charges made against the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, the undersigned representatives were appointed to make inquiry into such charges, and for the purpose of taking evidence two meetings were held on Tuesday and Wednesday, February 18th and 19th. The inquiry was held under the terms of the Amended Standing Order, which reads as follows :—

In the event of any charge being made against any society that its members are pursuing a policy which is calculated to injure the members of the society complaining, the matter in dispute shall be submitted to arbitration.

From the statements placed before your representatives, the charges preferred by the Railway Servants Society against the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen's Society rested mainly upon certain statements contained in a speech made by Mr. Albert Fox (General Secretary of the latter society) at Cambridge on Sunday, October 13th, 1907, in reference to the "All-Grades Movement" initiated by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. At that meeting, after quoting figures showing the number of members enrolled in the Railway Servants Society as compared with the number of men in the railway service eligible to become members (the figures quoted being incomplete so far as the whole of the United Kingdom was concerned), although it did not appear from the evidence placed before us that the inaccurate statement was made intentionally or deliberately, Mr. Fox is reported, among other things, to have used the following words :—

Some people had told them that if they had thrown in their lot with an all-grades movement they would have shown a united front and have succeeded with the companies. Did they mean to tell him that those figures displayed a united front? Those figures predicted to him hopeless failure, and they did not disclose very much sympathy in attempting to put upon the best organised section of the community the dead-weight of that disorganised mob in attempting to get improvements for the lot.

Questioned as to the accuracy of this report of his Cambridge speech, Mr. Fox admitted that, with one slight exception, it was an accurate record of what he had said on that occasion, the exception being (and in this he was corroborated by a member of his Executive Council) that he used the words "disorganised lot" instead of "disorganised mob."

Complaint was also made by Mr. R. Bell (on behalf of the Railway Servants Society) that at a meeting held in the Euston Theatre, London, on Sunday, the 30th October, Mr. A. Fox had virtually repudiated an agreement arrived at at a Conference of representatives of the various railway Trade

Unions, held in Manchester on the preceding day, to which the representatives of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen's Society tacitly agreed (although they do not appear to have voted for it) in order that the resolution might go forth as expressing the unanimous decision of the Conference; Mr. Bell likewise complaining that at the Euston Theatre meeting Mr. Fox had in his speech made a strong personal attack upon him, in addition to repudiating the good work accomplished at the Manchester Conference on the preceding day.

This Conference had been convened by the various railway Trade Unions for the purpose of considering a proposed scheme of federation, and, in view of the seriousness of the situation then existing between the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants and the railway companies, the Parliamentary Committee, quite unsolicited, and acting only in the best interests of the Trade Union movement as a whole, decided to send four of their colleagues to the meeting in order that they might urge upon all the societies concerned the absolute necessity of presenting a united front at such a crisis, and it was generally understood from the statement issued to the Press by the Conference on the Saturday afternoon that the action of the Parliamentary Committee had largely contributed to bring about that unanimity between the various railway unions so essential to the successful carrying out of the important movement in which the members of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants were then engaged.

In justification of the speech delivered at the Euston Theatre on the following (Sunday) evening, Mr. Fox claimed that the movement initiated by the Railway Servants' Society would, if the "national all-grades" programme was carried to a successful issue, prove detrimental to the interests of the members of his own Association, contending in support of such statement that his Executive and members desired to deal only with the questions of wages and mileage rather than with that of a reduction of working hours.

Other instances were placed before your representatives in which acute points of difference had arisen between the Executive Councils of the two organisations, and giving evidence also of the strong personal feeling prevailing at the time between the general secretaries of the two bodies.

After giving very careful consideration to the statements and evidence submitted, your representatives came to the following conclusions:—

1. That had some scheme of federation been in operation between the two societies similar to the one adopted at a Conference held in Leeds in 1903 the misunderstandings and consequent differences and bickerings which arose during the movement of 1907 would in all probability have been entirely avoided, and we regret exceedingly that some such machinery was not available for the adjustment of the differences which unfortunately arose between the two bodies.

2. We also regret that, in the midst of so important a movement and at its most crucial moments, it should have been considered necessary by the representative officials of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen to convene public meetings instead of private meetings of the members directly interested, and had this been done in the instances complained of the necessity for the Parliamentary Committee's intervention might probably have been avoided.

3. With regard to the speech delivered by Mr. Fox at Cambridge on the 13th October, 1907, the general accuracy of the Press reports of which was admitted, we can come to no other conclusion than that the delivery of such a speech, at such a moment and under such circumstances, must, undoubtedly, have been calculated to have a damaging effect upon the movement in which Mr. Bell and his colleagues and members were then engaged.

4. With reference to the speech delivered at the Euston Theatre, London, on Sunday, the 30th October, during which Mr. Fox virtually repudiated the resolution unanimously passed at the Manchester Conference on the preceding day—and with the knowledge and tacit approval of himself and colleagues—and in the course of which a strong personal attack was made upon Mr. Bell, it cannot be said that Mr. Fox was paying that respect due to the successful efforts of the representatives of the Trades Union Congress, or that he could have fully realised the harmful effect which his words were likely to have upon the important movement then in progress in connection with the railway service of this country.

5. Quite apart, however, from the position in which the two societies found themselves placed at the moment, and looking at the matter from a purely Trade Union standpoint, it must, in our opinion, be extremely difficult—and, indeed, impossible—for any society or responsible Trade Union official to attempt to justify the actions complained of by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants—actions taken at a moment and under circumstances which could only have the effect of weakening the position and prospects of the society directly engaged in an effort to improve the conditions of employment for its members.

D. J. SHACKLETON.

JAMES SEXTON.

C. W. BOWERMAN.

The Parliamentary Committee unanimously confirmed the above award (Mr. R. Bell not taking part in the Committee's deliberations), and decided that the costs incurred should be borne by the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. The amount has been paid.

TIN AND IRON PLATE WORKERS v. LONDON AND PROVINCIAL SOCIETY OF COPPERSMITHS.

The complaint of the Tin and Iron Plate Workers was that after agreeing in October, 1906, on a common policy of opposition to the bonus system, the Coppersmiths failed to fulfil their part of the understanding and continued to work the system of the premium bonus, thereby helping the employers to defeat the Tinsmiths' Society, who had been out on strike on account of that system of working. The following was the decision of the Sub-Committee appointed to hear the case:—

“We cannot find that the coppersmiths have broken faith with the tin plate workers since the passing of the standing order, nor was any evidence produced that the members of the Coppersmiths' Society had taken the places of the men on strike.

“In these circumstances, we decide that the coppersmiths have not taken any action at which the Tin and Iron Plate Workers' Society would be entitled to complain under Standing Order 20.

“D. J. SHACKLETON.

C. W. BOWERMAN.

J. B. WILLIAMS.”

The Parliamentary Committee agreed to this decision, and decided that the costs should be borne by the Tin and Iron Plate Workers. The amount has been duly paid.

AMALGAMATED MUSICIANS' UNION AND NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THEATRICAL EMPLOYEES v. VARIETY ARTISTS' FEDERATION.

The societies complaining charged the Variety Artists' Federation with supporting the application of Mr. Gibbons for the licensing of certain theatres,

knowing at the same time that the said Walter Gibbons was not abiding by the Askwith award so far as the two said societies were concerned. 22-2-08

The following is a copy of the findings of the arbitrators :—

“The Sub-Committee of Inquiry have given very careful consideration not only to the facts adduced at their inquiry, but to the relationship of the various societies concerned to each other and the peculiarity of their respective callings, and they have come to the conclusion that each society has acted to the best of their judgment and opportunity on behalf of the interests of their own members. At the same time, we are of opinion that as it was known that the Musicians' Union and Stage Hands were opposing the extension of Mr. Gibbons' licences, the least the V.A.F. could have done was to adopt a neutral attitude.

“We are further of opinion that in the interests of all concerned it would have been better had the Musicians' Union and Stage Hands communicated their intention to oppose Mr. Gibbons to the V.A.F. with a view to secure their co-operation or at least their neutrality.

“The Sub-Committee of Inquiry would strongly urge these three societies to come to a common and immediate understanding—first, with a view to the better organisation of their respective callings, and, secondly, to secure unity of action where general interests are concerned.

“C. W. BOWERMAN.
W. THORNE.
W. MOSSES.”

The above findings were unanimously endorsed by the Parliamentary Committee at their meeting 18th December, 1907, who likewise decided that each union concerned should pay an equal portion of the expenses incurred. These amounts have been paid. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to state that Mr. J. B. Williams took no part in the Committee's deliberations upon the case.

AMALGAMATED UNION OF LABOUR *v.* DURHAM COKEMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

The charge was that the Durham Cokemen's Association had been stealing members from the National Union of Labour and taking them into the Durham Cokemen's Association.

The Sub-Committee appointed to try the case reported as follows :—

“We find the charge of admitting the said members into the Durham Cokemen's Association not proven, but the charge of taking members away from the National Amalgamated Union of Labour we consider has been fully established, and for the reasons given we decide that the costs of the inquiry are to be borne by the Durham Cokemen's Association.

“A. H. GILL.
J. B. WILLIAMS.”

This award was agreed to by the full Parliamentary Committee, and the amount duly paid.

CUMBERLAND IRON ORE MINERS' ASSOCIATION.

The following is the report of the Sub-Committee appointed to inquire into this dispute :—

“This dispute arose in consequence of the discharge of Mr. J. Flynn from the position of secretary, which he had held for some years, and the appointment in his place of Mr. Gavan Duffy, Mr. Flynn complaining that he had not been discharged in agreement with the rules governing his appointment, and further, claiming the right to still act as secretary of the Association.

"As a result a split had taken place between the members of the Association, many still recognising Mr. Flynn as secretary, whilst others supported Mr. Gavan Duffy, whose name had been submitted to the miners for the position of secretary, and who had been declared elected by ballot.

"At a later stage an injunction was obtained against Mr. Flynn continuing to act as secretary of the Association, who thereupon appeared to have started a society under a slightly altered title, the rules of which the Registrar refused to register; and finally an action was brought against Mr. Flynn by some of the trustees, calling upon him to deliver up the minute books, and to render an account of moneys held by him in connection with the Association.

"This action was tried at the Carlisle Assizes on February 4th, and at the close of the first day's proceedings, acting upon a suggestion from the judge counsel for both parties agreed that a consultation between them might be the means of bringing the case to a close, and upon the following morning the judge by consent gave judgment for the plaintiffs, at the same time declaring that there was no foundation for any suggestions that might have been made concerning Mr. Flynn's character. During the trial the judge made some comments regarding the manner in which the two ballots—one resulting in the dismissal of Mr. Flynn, and the other appointing Mr. Duffy in his stead—had been taken, and he indicated, as a result of the way in which the case had terminated, that probably an effort might be made to consult the whole of the miners in the district upon the points at issue between the two sections.

"The statements placed before your representatives were of an extremely conflicting character, rendering the task of forming a sound and convincing judgment upon the merits of, or fixing the responsibility for, the dispute an exceedingly difficult one. With regard, however, to the manner in which the two ballots were taken, the methods which appear to have been adopted cannot be said to have been the most satisfactory, and it was suggested in court that through an inadvertence all the members were not given the opportunity of recording their votes. In the ballot for the appointment of secretary, perforated slips were issued to the members, with the two following lines printed thereon:—

" 'For Mr. Gavan Duffy.'

" 'Against Mr. Gavan Duffy.'

and they were requested to tear off and return either the upper or the lower half of such perforated slip, which was not numbered, and required no mark or name to be placed thereon. Your representatives felt that the protest made by Mr. Flynn and his colleagues against such a method of balloting the members was fully justified.

"Beyond this criticism, your representatives hesitate to pass judgment upon the merits of a dispute concerning which they have had placed before them statements so contradictory and unsatisfactory; but they are strongly of opinion that steps should at once be taken by the Executive Council of the Blastfurnacemen's Federation to convene a meeting of the whole of the men who belonged to the Cumberland Iron-Ore Miners' Association prior to the dispute arising, in order that the unfortunate division which has taken place, and which has resulted in the organisation of two separate societies, each catering for precisely the same class of workmen, and operating in the same district, may be satisfactorily bridged over, thereby strengthening instead of weakening (as must inevitably be the case should the existing state of things continue) the Trade Union spirit which until recently has so happily and beneficially distinguished the iron-ore miners in the Cumberland district.

"C. W. BOWERMAN,
W. THORNE."

After discussion, this report was adopted by the full Parliamentary Committee.

LABOUR IN CANADA.

The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada sent a representative to your Committee and to the trades for the purpose of warning intending emigrants against going to Canada. The following communication was received on the subject:—

Trades and Labour Congress of Canada,
May 18th, 1908.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER,—I sail for Montreal on 22nd May (Friday this week), and would take this opportunity of thanking you and other friends on Parliamentary Committee for the very kind assistance rendered us in our publicity campaign.

Fraternally yours,
W. R. TROTTER.

REPORT OF DELEGATES TO THE AMERICAN CONVENTION OF LABOUR.

TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE OF THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Gentlemen,—We beg to report that in accordance with the decision of Congress we attended the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labour held at Norfolk, Virginia, November 11th to 23rd (inclusive), 1907. On our arrival at New York we were met by a representative of the A.F. of L. and conducted to our hotel, and we should like at the outset to express our thanks and appreciation of the many kindnesses we received, and the arrangements made for our comfort during our stay in America.

The Convention opened at the Jamestown Exposition on Monday, the 11th of November, by the Rev. Calvin S. Blackwell, D.D., Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Norfolk, Virginia.

The President of the Exposition, the Mayor of the City of Norfolk, the Mayor of Newport, Mr. H. S. Scott, President of the Central Labour Union of Norfolk, Mr. James O. Donnell, President of the Virginia Federation of Labour, and the Hon. Claude A. Swanson, Governor of Virginia, spoke words of welcome to the delegates.

President Gompers then gave his report, which occupied over three hours, and dealt fully with the more important questions which had had the attention of the Executive Committee during the year.

Before the first day's proceedings were over we realised that the same questions which claim the attention of Trade Unionists in this country were agitating the mind of our cousins across the sea, the most important of which was the position of Trade Unions, the law of picketing, the right to strike, and the more important matter of injunctions, which are far more serious there than ever they have been with us.

The delegates were deeply interested in the settlement of our troubles at home by the passage into law of the Trade Disputes Act. The delegates took a keen interest in our addresses to the Convention, this being demonstrated by the delegates coming to us and conversing with us on these topics, as well as asking questions thereupon.

As regards workmen's compensation for accidents we found the position far different to what we have here, and on this question also much interest was shown. Since our return home copies of the two Acts referred to, and pamphlets and handbooks on the Workmen's Compensation Act have been forwarded to the officials of the A.F. of L. and several of the unions. It is on our lines they intend to act.

We had the honour of meeting the President of the United States, along with the Executive Committee of the A.F. of L., and were requested by President Roosevelt to remain during the whole of the discussion. This was especially interesting as to the two main subjects under consideration were Trade Union Law and Workmen's Compensation for accidents.

Our American friends do not as yet attach the same importance to political action as we do, the difficulties of State Government is alleged to be the cause, whilst the different State legislatures divide them in political action, there still remains the National House of Representatives, the Senate and the Presidential election for combined actions. They have been able to make their Trade Unions national, and we failed to find any sufficient reason preventing combined action. The bulk of the leaders of the A.F. of L. do not believe in political action, it would jeopardise Trade Unionism, the stock arguments we used to be familiar with, and yet they beg and plead with the President to help them. As we pointed out, we used to do the same kind of pleading from the outside, now we did it from the inside, with the beneficial results indicated.

There are evidences of a change; an energetic minority of the delegates gave proof of their determination to move in the direction of independent political action. The circumstances of the two nations are somewhat different, and the change will have to be made cautiously and steadily. Trade Unionism is the greatest power the American workman has at the present time, and his independent political power should be an addition to his Trade Union and not in place of it.

Previous delegations have mentioned the different methods of conducting the business of the Convention to our own, and we do not desire to do more than make a passing reference to the matter. Much time is taken up in reading long reports from the President, the Secretary, and the various Committees. The delegates show great interest in the proceedings, for during the time these reports are being given, which sometimes take over an hour, there is a good attendance.

During the previous twelve months the Employers' Federation had been making a scurrilous attack on the officials of the A.F. of L., and especially on Sam Gompers, their president.

We are proud to think that such an attack would almost be impossible in this country. The agents of the Employers' Federation had resorted to the meanest of tactics, even to the extent of undermining the personal honour of friend Gompers. We listened with strange feelings to the long recital of these attacks, and were delighted at the loyalty shown by the delegates. As a mark of their appreciation and confidence in Mr. Gompers they raised his salary from £600 to £1,000 per annum.

The representation is somewhat on the lines which ours used to be before the passing of the Cardiff resolution. Amongst those admitted are the Women's Trade Union League, a body similar to the league presided over in this country by Miss Tuckwell. We got into frequent conversation with the representatives of this league, and were pleased to hear of the good work that was being done. The President, Mrs. Raymond Robins, a lady of means, is giving her time and money to help on the organisation of women, and we were glad to note the earnest and sympathetic appeal by President Gompers in his report for assistance from the Trade Union movement of America.

As usual great importance was attached to the union label, and we think rightly so. It is possible for every article of wearing apparel to be bought with the union label upon it, and no one can deny the great power this puts in the hands of organised labour in their efforts to put down sweating, and in our opinion the Trades Union Congress would do well to give greater attention to

this subject. President Gompers in his report to the Convention mentioned that it had been suggested that an International Conference on Labour questions should be held at which the Governments of the civilised world should be invited. The subjects suggested for discussion are :—

- Child labour, its restriction and regulation.
- Women's labour, its restriction and regulation.
- Hours of labour.
- Safety appliances on railways and machinery in factories and workshops.
- Sanitation in workshops and mines.
- Ventilation in mines.
- Employers' liability and kindred subjects.

The Convention agreed that President Roosevelt should be urged to extend an invitation to the Governments and associations of other countries. We think such a Conference would be of incalculable benefit to the workers of all countries, and every effort should be made to bring this about. Our Trades Union Congress might very usefully discuss the subject at its next meeting.

The eight-hour day movement is making great progress in America, and President Gompers was able to congratulate the Convention on this question, and we here give the list as supplied by him to the Convention of the hours worked by the following trades :—

- Carpenters.—Eight hours.
- Electrical workers.—Eight hours generally.
- Plasterers.—Eight hours generally, some places seven hours.
- Bricklayers.—Eight hours generally.
- Granite Cutters.—Eight hours universal.
- Masons.—Eight hours generally.
- Painters.—Eight hours generally.
- Decorators.—Eight hours generally.
- Paper Hangers.—Eight hours generally.
- Plumbers.—Eight hours generally.
- Gas Fitters.—Eight hours generally.
- Steam and Hot Water Fitters.—Eight hours generally.
- Tile Layers.—Eight hours generally.
- Roofers.—Eight hours generally.
- Building Labourers and Hod Carriers.—Eight hours generally.
- Compositors (Afternoon Papers).—Eight hours generally.
- Compositors (Morning Papers).—Seven and a-half hours.
- Compositors (Book and Job).—Eight hours generally.
- German Compositors.—Eight hours, five days constituting a week's work.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers on Newspapers.—Eight hours.
- Coal Miners in Bituminous Regions.—Eight hours.
- Coal Miners in Anthracite Regions.—Nine hours.
- Cigarmakers.—Eight hours generally.
- Coopers.—Eight hours generally.
- Brewers.—Eight hours on Pacific Coast; nine hours elsewhere.
- Iron and Steel Workers.—Eight hours; three shifts.
- Stationary Firemen.—Eight hours; 50 per cent.
- Papermakers.—Eight hours.

The spirit of international goodwill and peace was a prominent feeling throughout the Convention, and we echo the words of President Gompers that "Labour will strive to persuade the Governments of the world to establish universal, international peace. I am firmly convinced that if a growing tendency towards international fraternity among the workers of all countries is manifested, the more general recognition of identity of interests of the toilers is established the world over; the more general, mutual acceptance of each other's union travelling cards as a passport in the international Trade Unions of all countries is extended, the interchange of fraternal delegates, the ambassadors of goodwill at the conventions and congresses of organised labour is continued, that these practical methods will contribute more than all else to the enthronement of universal peace among the peoples of the nations of the earth."

During the period the Convention was sitting we both received a very pressing invitation from the Central Body at Washington D.C. to take part in a great demonstration which was being held the Tuesday after the Convention rose, the object of holding the demonstration so closely after the Convention being to get the assistance of the chiefs of the movement. Unfortunately Mr. Shackleton's home engagements prevented his acceptance, but Mr. Trotter, the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades Congress, and your other delegate accepted and took part. Thereafter, he (Mr. Hodge) visited Pittsburg, Newcastle, Youngstown, Wheeling, Steubenville, Martin's Ferry (Ohio), Chicago, Springfield (Ill.), Granite City, Milwaukee, Madison (Wis.), where he addressed the students of the Wisconsin University on Social Legislation in Great Britain, and thereafter visited Canada and had the unique honour of being requested to address a town's meeting in Toronto on the question of Municipalisation in Great Britain. From Toronto proceeded to Boston (Mass.), and then New York, having spent altogether ten weeks in the States and Canada. The results of his observations were that the rank and file were ripe for a political lead as a consequence of the restrictions placed upon Trade Union effort by judge-made law, as well as the necessity of something being done to prevent the wilful waste of life as a consequence of the difficulty of bringing home responsibility to manufacturers for accidents occurring in their factories or workshops. He addressed meetings in Chicago, under the auspices of the Women's Trade Union League, and in New York the night previous to leaving for home was entertained at a banquet by the Women's Trade Union League, of New York, there being a large assembly of all the leading men and women of New York engaged in social, Trade Union, and civic associations for the advancement of the social, moral, and economic welfare of the people. Miss Dreier, a sister of Mrs. Robins, the lady already referred to, occupied the chair. The assembly were greatly interested in the activities of the Labour Party in Great Britain, and many questions were asked with respect thereto; altogether the function was one of a most enjoyable character. The women's movement is excellently guided, and their work in connection with pushing the Trade Union label could not be excelled. Trade Unionists generally are grateful for and extol the activities of the women.

We firmly believe that if our various Trade Unions would more freely arrange for their officials visiting the United States of America and Canada, and by such personal contact making known the advances which were being made in the direction of social and industrial legislation, it would help the cause in either country, and would certainly do much to cement the relationship which ought to exist between the Anglo-Saxon communities in the older and the newer world.

D. J. SHACKLETON,
JOHN HODGE.

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., represented the Trades Union Congress at the Conference of the Labour Party at Hull. Mr. Shackleton, in the course of his remarks, said he remembered that the Plymouth Trades Union Congress started this movement which had grown to such efficiency and such power in the country, and he thought it would hardly become him not to say a word or two on behalf of the Congress. The Congress recognised to the full the immense difference with which the House of Commons received the resolutions passed by the Congress from time to time. There was no one who had sat on the Parliamentary Committee for a few years and had had experience of the House of Commons for, say, five or six years, but could see the difference made in the House by the presence of our Labour men. He, for one, and speaking on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee, expressed nothing but gratification at that result, and he trusted to see the number of Labour members increased and multiplied by many members before many years went by. He was glad the chairman had referred to the increasing strength of the membership—over a million was now the total. When he recollected that the Congress represented close upon two millions, the fact was borne upon him that the Trade Unionists of this country had not yet rallied to the extent they ought to do, and he was hoping that within the next session of Parliament we should see as a result of a ballot the increasing of our strength of Labour men by about 15 from the other side of the House. Might he just say one word more on that matter. One or two months would go by before we had the result of the miners' ballot. Might he express a hope that between now and then nothing would be said of any member of the Party, by any individual in that Conference, or any member represented by the delegates, which would in any way imperil the success of that ballot in the direction we desired. Unity should be our object. Personalities should not creep in. Individuals should sink any particular ideal they might have in order to secure that unity which the Labour Party desired and required if it was to be as successful as we hoped it would be. He would like to say this: When the next election came we had got to be open to attack. We had a service to give to the country, and we had a record which would be criticised, and it would be as necessary for us to be united when the election came as we were in 1906. Let him thank the Labour Party most heartily for the support it had given the Parliamentary Committee in their work in Parliament dealing with various questions which it had had from time to time to bring forward. If we did that the country would rally round us, and we would see before long not 31 but somewhere near 100 members from the industrial centres who would be returned as showing appreciation of the work of the few who had already got there.

REPORT OF DELEGATE TO CONFERENCE OF GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

Gentlemen,—I attended as fraternal delegate to the meeting of the General Federation of Trade Unions, held in the City of Oxford. The annual report of the secretary showed a year of progress. The membership is still on the increase, but the full benefit of federation will not be realised until the larger Trade Unions, who are so powerful as separate organisations, decide to throw in their lot with the present membership, and thus add power and influence to the whole Trade Union movement. The present position of Capital and Labour demands not only amalgamation of individual societies but the federation of all trades.

A special feature of the Oxford meeting was the reception by the Oxford section of the joint committee now considering how best to bring Oxford and the working-class organisations together. Interesting speeches were given by representatives of the University and the Federation.

The occasion was a most enjoyable one, and was greatly appreciated.

D. J. SHACKLETON.

DELEGATE'S REPORT OF THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS HELD AT NEWPORT.

As per instructions of the Bath Trades Congress, I attended the annual gathering of the co-operators of the country held at Newport from June 6th to June 11th inclusive. A hearty reception was accorded your delegate both at the meeting on Saturday and the opening of the Congress proceedings on the Monday, when I had the honour and privilege of conveying to the 1,500 delegates assembled your fraternal greetings. I touched on the parallel positions of the two movements, showing how both were born, bred, and reared in the stormy days when the fight for political power and social reform, and the fight against poverty was begun in the early part of last century. I admitted on the Parliamentary question we, as Trade Unionists, had been driven into political action independent of other parties, and that as the callousness of capitalism had driven us there, so it might drive co-operators also. I asserted with emphasis that it had paid us ten times over for the money and time spent in that work.

The discussions during the week were very high toned if necessarily brief, and the three chief ones were on "The Minimum Wage Question," "Parliamentary Representation," and "Votes for Women." The theory of a minimum standard for men has been accepted and a number of stores now adhere to the 24s. a week minimum. There are sections of the Co-operative Wholesale and of the Productive Federation, who, whilst approving of this principle, no doubt pay less than the 24s. standard the Congress approved of for men. The women delegates stoutly claimed the right of a minimum standard for women as well on the lines of equal work for equal pay. The following resolution was adopted:—

That this Congress strongly recommends all the societies in the movement to adopt at once some such scale of wages as is indicated in this report; and, further, that this Congress re-affirms its resolution of last year regarding the evils of sweating, and again urges his Majesty's Government to grant facilities for the passing of the Bill introduced by Mr. Toulmin, M.P., establishing "wages boards" in the sweated trades, with power to fix minimum rates of payment.

On the subject of Parliamentary representation the debate was brisk, and, whilst the motion for independent representation was lost by about five to three, still it was admitted on all hands it was coming. It is a great advance on previous Congresses. The ideal address of the president, who supported independent representation, the acceptance of advanced views on social matters, all showed the nearer approach of the time when their movement and ours will be more in harmony than hitherto, and both be fighting on the same lines of independent representation in the House of Commons. On the subject of votes for women the Congress went whole-heartedly for the principle. I attended the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employés' gathering on the Wednesday afternoon, and spoke along with others on the need of Trade Unionism, and urging the distributive employés yet outside the union to come and do their share of world improving. It was a delightful week, and I am pleased to learn of the better and more brotherly feeling there is between the two movements. Many delegates are old attenders at our Trades Union Congresses, and the welcome given to your delegate was most gratefully appreciated.

BEN TURNER.

SEVENTEENTH UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS.

CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER, JULY 27TH TO AUGUST 1ST, 1908.

We were appointed to attend this Congress as your representatives to give practical evidence of your frequently expressed opinions in favour of the peaceful settlement of disputes between the nations of the world. About 400 delegates from all the civilised countries of the world assembled, also professors from our great universities, the national organisations of the Trade Union and Labour Party, Trades Councils, Advanced Political and Social Association of Men and Women in the United Kingdom, all proclaiming their belief in the refining, intellectual influence and economical social advantage to be derived from peace and goodwill dominating our action, thereby adding to the world's prosperity and comfort.

The importance of this great gathering, the largest of the kind ever held, received its highest official recognition by the King receiving a deputation and accepting an address at Buckingham Palace, thus associating himself and the nation with the nobility of its aim and object. Lord Courtney of Penwith, the President, opened the Congress, and welcomed the delegates, and in an eloquent speech declared for justice and reason against the brutality of war to determine disputes. He paid a golden tribute to the late Sir William Randal Cremer, M.P., who devoted his life to the great work of promoting international arbitration for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The delegates then met in national sections to select representatives to the various bureaux, to whom the consideration of the various subjects was referred to formulate resolutions and present reports thereon to Congress. The principal subjects were: Reduction of armaments, political, economic, intellectual, and educational results of our enormous military and naval expenditure, and the methods of propaganda to be recommended to enlighten the public on the magnitude of the evil effects arising therefrom. These were submitted in due course, and adopted by Congress.

The first Conference was held in 1843, and for many years very little progress was made, but in recent years a marked change has taken place, as instead of a few persons almost unnoticed attending, public attention has been awakened to the importance of this humanitarian agitation. The most significant evidence of its growth was the invitation to nearly all the delegates by Mr. L. V. Harcourt, M.P. (on behalf of his Majesty's Government) to a dinner at the Hotel Cecil, who was supported by the presence and speech of the Prime Minister. This was a most remarkable event, as it was the first time the finances of the nation have been appropriated to hospitably entertain delegations of such a character, which is an entirely new and creditable departure. As a fitting conclusion to this most successful Congress, we assisted, in conjunction with other organisations, in arranging a demonstration in Trafalgar Square to celebrate and commemorate this great international movement.

BEN COOPER.

WILL THORNE.

JOINT COMMITTEE OF TRADE UNIONISTS AND CO-OPERATORS.

The committee is constituted as follows: Representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress: Messrs. G. N. Barnes, M.P., W. Mosses, Councillor J. Sexton and D. J. Shackleton, M.P. Representing the Co-operative Union: Messrs. G. Hayhurst, Councillor James Johnston, J.P., J. Thompson, and H. Westbury.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton was appointed chairman, and James Johnston hon. secretary. The following business has been brought before the Joint Committee :—

HOSIERY UNION.

On June 21st, 1907, Mr. Holmes (secretary of the Hosiery Union) attended, and gave information about the bad conditions of labour in a hosiery factory from which, he alleged, the C.W.S. bought goods for distribution in the co-operative movement.

CABINET MAKERS.

The secretary of the Cabinet Makers' Union wrote to say the C.W.S. were only paying 8½d. per hour to men making furniture at Broughton works, the standard wage for which, they alleged, was 9½d.

TAILORS' SOCIETY.

The secretary of the Amalgamated Tailors' Society wrote to say that the manager of the C.W.S. Tailoring Works at Broughton made it impossible to organise the women workers there.

The secretary of the Joint Committee was requested to send these various statements to the committee of the C.W.S. and to suggest the desirability of an interview, so that the matter might be more fully gone into. The committee of the C.W.S. agreed to this, and a deputation from the Joint Committee waited on the committee of the C.W.S. on August 2nd, 1907. Representatives of the hosiery, cabinet makers, and tailors' unions also attended, and made their statements at the joint meeting. After a number of questions had been dealt with, the chairman of the C.W.S. said the charges would be fully gone into and a reply sent. This reply was sent to the secretary of the Joint Committee on September 7th, along with a number of letters from Trade Union secretaries, and, as copies of this correspondence were sent by the C.W.S. to all the members of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union for the consideration of the United Board meeting the following week, the secretary of the Joint Committee wrote to the United Board to explain how these matters originated, and to intimate that the Joint Committee had not had opportunity of dealing with the whole of these cases.

The Joint Committee again met on March 12th, 1908, and the correspondence *re* above matter was read. The Joint Committee resolved that the action of the secretary in writing to the united board be approved, and that copies of letters from the C.W.S. be sent to the secretaries of the Cabinet Makers' and Tailors' Unions, asking for their observations on the same.

The secretary reported that Mr. J. C. Gray, general secretary, Co-operative Union, had sent particulars of a dispute between St. Cuthbert's Association, Edinburgh, and the Boot and Shoe Operatives' Union, for the Joint Committee to deal with, but eventually Mr. Gray wrote to intimate that the Scottish Board had held a meeting with the Joint Arbitration Board in Scotland, and had come to the conclusion that they cannot permit the dispute to be submitted to the Joint Committee in England.

TRADE UNION LABEL.

The secretary submitted a circular letter from the Parkstone and Bournemouth Co-operative Society, Limited, addressed to him as secretary of the Joint Committee *re* Trade Union labels for all goods manufactured for and sold in the co-operative movement, to which he had sent the following reply :—

October 19th, 1907.

Dear Sirs,—I am quite in favour of the adoption of a Trade Union label on all goods *bought* by the C.W.S. and the retail societies in the co-operative movement, but whether it would be expedient for me while I am acting as secretary of the Joint

Committee of Trade Unionists and Co-operators to take an active part on such a proposal at the quarterly meetings of the C.W.S. is a matter for careful consideration.

I will bring your letter before the Joint Committee at their next meeting, and ascertain what they consider is the best course of action to forward the object in view.

Yours truly,

JAMES JOHNSTON,

Hon. Secretary, Joint Committee of Trade Unionists and Co-operators.

The secretary was requested to obtain information from the U.S.A. as to the extent of the adoption of the Trade Union label in that country, and its usefulness in securing fair conditions of labour, so that some steps may be taken to carry out the resolutions of the Trades Union Congress at Liverpool in 1906, and submitted to and approved by the Co-operative Congress at Preston in 1907.

The Joint Committee held a meeting on April 15th, and in the correspondence submitted to the committee was a letter from Mr. J. C. Gray, the secretary of the Co-operative Union, enclosing a resolution from the United Board, passed at their meeting on March 28th :—

That the report of the Joint Committee be accepted with the exception of the last paragraph, which deals with the question of the Trade Union label ; that this paragraph be sent back to the Joint Committee, and that their attention be called to the fact that it does not come within their province to deal with this question, which, in our opinion, should be left in the hands of the Trade Unions to deal with.

The Joint Committee after carefully considering this resolution came to the conclusion that their usefulness would be seriously interfered with if such a limited sphere of action was imposed on them, and they believe they have justification for doing work of this kind, not only because of the declared objects of the Joint Committee, viz. :—

1. To encourage and develop a mutual understanding as to the aims of the two bodies, and to assist each other as far as possible in the work which is common to both ;
2. To act as mediators in any disputes which may occur between co-operative societies and their employés ; (in regard to the object first named, it is not necessary to show how important it is that the two bodies, whose objects and interests are so closely directed to the advancement and the welfare of the industrial class, should thoroughly realise and understand the work and aims of each other. As to the second, there can be no doubt but that many unfortunate disputes which have taken place would have been avoided had the services of the committee been called into operation).—

agreed to at a joint meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, and the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress held at the beginning of 1893, but by the large number of cases (other than disputes between co-operative societies and their employés) dealt with by the Joint Committee since it was reconstructed in 1893, and the question of a Trade Union label has been before the Joint Committee again and again.

The objects of the Joint Committee, as set forth above, and the *Rules* governing the conduct of disputes between co-operative societies and their employés, were submitted to and approved by the Co-operative Congress in 1893, and to the Trades Union Congress held the same year, and the work of the committee has been conducted on these lines ever since that time.

JOINT SECRETARIES.

At the meeting held on April 15th, a recommendation from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress was submitted, suggesting that two joint secretaries should be appointed, one from the four Co-operative

Union representatives, as at present, and the other from the four representatives of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, and that their appointment should, as far as possible, be of a permanent character, so as to ensure continuity of work, and keep both sections of the committee fully informed of the work of the Joint Committee. This recommendation was accepted by the Joint Committee—to come into operation when the committee is re-appointed in October next.

A letter from Mr. J. C. Gray was read intimating that the Central Board of the Co-operative Union had, at its meeting on June 6th last, passed the following resolution, viz.: "That this committee be recommended to appoint as its joint secretaries the general secretaries of the respective unions, with a view to the efficient discharge of the duties of the secretaryship by continuity of office." Resolved,—

That the hon. secretary communicate this resolution to Mr. Steadman, and that the proposal be considered at our next meeting.

CLOTHIERS' OPERATIVES.

Another meeting of the Joint Committee was held on June 24th, at which correspondence was read *re* complaints made by Amalgamated Union of Clothiers' Operatives against the tailoring department of the C.W.S.

Mr. Young (general secretary of the above union) and Mr. J. Smith (president of the Manchester Branch) waited upon the Joint Committee, and made statements concerning the alleged grievances with regard to wages and other matters at the C.W.S. Broughton tailoring works.

The Joint Committee, after considering the statements made, unanimously agreed that a *prima facie* case for further inquiry had been made out, and resolved to ask the Committee of the C.W.S. to receive the members of the Joint Committee and the representatives of the Amalgamated Union of Clothiers' Operatives at Manchester on July 13th or 20th.

The representatives of the men were requested to send to the secretary of the Joint Committee, in writing, full particulars *re* rates of wages, names of firms who are paying higher rates than the C.W.S., and specific details of any other grievance they desire to bring forward.

A further meeting of the Joint Committee was held on July 20th. The Secretary read correspondence with the C.W.S. *re* complaints made by the Amalgamated Union of Clothiers' Operatives against the rates of wages and conditions of labour in the tailoring department at the Broughton works. He reported that in consequence of the committee of the C.W.S. being unable to meet the Joint Committee on the date suggested, the 20th inst., he had, after consultation with the chairman (Mr. Shackleton), called this meeting, at very short notice, to consider the grievances complained of by the men, especially the discharge of Mr. Smith (president of the Manchester Branch of the Amalgamated Union of Clothiers' Operatives) by the manager of the Broughton tailoring department, because, so it was alleged, he had absented himself from his work to attend the meeting of the Joint Committee on June 24th, to submit to them the grievances of which the union complain.

A deputation from the committee of the C.W.S., consisting of Messrs. Lander, Holt, and Marshall, also Mr. Grierson (manager of the Broughton works), Mr. Young (general secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Clothiers' Operatives), and Mr. Smith (president of the Manchester Branch) attended the meeting. Mr. Lander objected to discuss in detail the matters dealt with in the statement of grievances submitted by the men, on account of the short time the statement had been in their possession, but expressed his willingness to discuss the case of Mr. Smith. This course was agreed to, and Mr. Smith gave an account of the proceedings that led to his discharge. Mr. Grierson

also made a statement. The matter was discussed at considerable length, and the deputations then left the meeting, Mr. Lander promising that the C.W.S. would promptly deal with the complaints made by the men, and report to the Joint Committee. Resolved:—

That the C.W.S. be respectfully requested to reinstate Mr. J. Smith in his position as a worker at the Broughton tailoring department. The committee are of the opinion that his discharge was made under a misapprehension, and without the knowledge or sanction of the committee.

At a meeting of the Joint Committee held on August 8th a communication from the committee of the C.W.S. was submitted, in which it was stated that the question of the reinstatement of Mr. Smith at Broughton Tailoring Works would be left entirely in the hands of Mr. Grierson, the manager. The hon. secretary was requested to express to the committee of the C.W.S. the regret of the Joint Committee that no direct reply had been received in answer to the resolution they had forwarded to the C.W.S. respectfully asking for the reinstatement of Mr. Smith in his position as a worker in the Broughton tailoring department, and pointing out that although Mr. Shackleton suggested at the meeting held on July 20th that the matter should be left in the hands of the manager of the works, he had in his mind an immediate conference between Messrs. Grierson and Smith to settle the matter right away, but as this suggestion was not accepted by the C.W.S. representatives, the Joint Committee further considered the matter, and unanimously passed the resolution asking for the reinstatement of Mr. Smith.

The discharge of Mr. Smith and the grievances complained of at Broughton Tailoring Works were further considered at a meeting of the Joint Committee held on August 29th.

Mr. Shackleton reported an interview he had with Mr. Lander (chairman of the Productive Committee of the C.W.S.) *re* the discharge of Mr. Smith, who said the committee of the C.W.S. could not see their way to comply with the request of the Joint Committee to reinstate Mr. Smith, as they had left the matter entirely in the hands of Mr. Grierson, the manager.

Mr. Smith attended the meeting of the Joint Committee, and was advised to go to Broughton Works and make personal application to the manager for reinstatement. He agreed to do this, and returning to the meeting of the Joint Committee reported he had seen Mr. Grierson, who said "if he had applied four or five days ago there might have been a chance, but owing to the state of trade, as it is now, he could not see his way to do anything for him or anyone else."

Mr. Smith stated that two or three men had been started in the pressers' department, in which he had been a worker, since he was discharged in June last.

The Joint Committee decided to inform the committee of the C.W.S. that they had advised Mr. Smith to make personal application to Mr. Grierson for reinstatement and the result of same, and that they will now have to report the matter to the T.U. and Co-operative Congresses.

The committee of the C.W.S. also to be informed that a copy of their letter of the 14th August, dealing with the alleged grievances of the employes at Broughton Tailoring Works, would be submitted to the Amalgamated Union of Clothiers' Operatives for their consideration and report, on receipt of which the Joint Committee will take such steps as are necessary in connection with the dispute.

CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYEES.

The Secretary submitted a letter from the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employes, sent through Mr. Steadman, secretary of the P.C. of the T.U. Congress, in which it was stated that the committee of the

Newcastle-on-Tyne Co-operative Society had discharged one of their members named Walton, who had a clean record of 17 years' service with the society. The committee were asked to receive a deputation from the District Council of the A.U.C.E., having previously refused to grant an interview to Mr. Walton himself, but the committee of the Newcastle Society refused to receive the deputation, and also refused two further requests for an interview from the Executive of the Amalgamated U. of C.E. to discuss the matter with them.

The Secretary of the Joint Committee, on receiving the complaint from the A.U.C.E., wrote to the committee of the Newcastle Society asking if they were willing to submit the matter to the Joint Committee, but the reply was "that they are not willing to submit the matter referred to to any person or committee."

The Secretary was requested to intimate to the Newcastle Co-operative Society that the Joint Committee hear with regret the decision they have come to, and in the event of them maintaining the attitude they have taken up the Joint Committee will have to act in accordance with clause 4 of the regulations provided for their guidance and then report the case to the Co-operative Congress, to be further dealt with by that body.

D. J. SHACKLETON, Chairman.

JAMES JOHNSTON, Hon. Secretary.

THE JOINT BOARD,

REPRESENTING THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE OF THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS, THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

Secretaries :

W. C. STEADMAN, M.P., W. A. APPLETON, J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P. ?

February 25th, 1908. ३

A meeting of the above was held at the office of the Labour Party on the 25th of February, 1908, and there were present Mr. David Shackleton, M.P., Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P., Mr. Alex. Wilkie, M.P., and Mr. W. C. Steadman, M.P., representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress; Mr. Pete Curran, M.P., Mr. John Ward, M.P., Alderman Allen Gee, J.P., and Mr. W. A. Appleton, representing the General Federation; Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Mr. W. C. Robinson and Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., representing the Labour Party. It was—

Resolved: That Mr. D. J. Shackleton take the chair.

The minutes of the meeting held on 26th November, 1907, were read and confirmed.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.—It was—

Resolved: That Mr. David J. Shackleton be the President of the Board for the ensuing year; that Mr. A. Henderson be the Vice-President, and Mr. W. A. Appleton the Secretary responsible for the convening of meetings, the preparation of agendas, and the taking of minutes.

CORRESPONDENCE.—Mr. Appleton reported receiving correspondence relative to the differences between the Municipal Employés' Association and the Gasworkers and General Labourers' Union, and it was—

Resolved: That the Secretary supply each member of the Board with copies of the resolutions bearing on such differences which had been passed by the Trades Union Congress and the Joint Board, along with copies of the new rules of the Municipal Employés.

It was further—

Resolved: That the whole matter be discussed at a special meeting of the Joint Board, to be held at the Labour Party's Office on March 17th, 1908, at noon.

EXPORTATION OF BLACKLEGS.—The correspondence connected with the protests of the National Labourers' Council and other organisations against the importation and exportation of blacklegs was discussed, and it was reported that the Labour Party had already done whatever Parliamentary usage permitted. They had been unsuccessful in the ballot, but they were fully alive to the importance of the matter and would do everything possible to secure the passing of Mr. W. Crooks, M.P.'s, Bill for the extension of the Foreign Enlistments Act.

Resolved: That a letter be sent to the National Labourers' Council accordingly.

CONSTITUTION OF THE JOINT BOARD.

The Joint Board then proceeded to discuss its constitution, and it decided to recommend for acceptance by its constituent bodies the following:—

1. That the Joint Board shall consist of three representatives and the secretaries from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Labour Party.

2. The officers of the Joint Board shall be a President, a Vice-President, and three Secretaries, one of whom should act as Convening Secretary, such to be elected at the Annual Meeting.

3. The Annual Meeting shall be held on the first Wednesday in February of each year, and other statutory meetings on the first Wednesday in May, August, and November of each year.

4. All expenses sanctioned by the Board shall be borne in equal proportion by the three organisations represented, expenses of representatives being paid by the organisations sending them.

5. The Joint Board shall be the body to determine the *bonâ fides* of any Trade Union affiliated, or applying for affiliation, to any of the constituent organisations.

6. The Joint Board shall consider and report as to whether new societies connected with trades already covered by existing organisations shall be encouraged or otherwise.

7. The Board shall consider and decide references made to it by any one of its constituent bodies regarding questions affecting them jointly, or about which some doubt or difference may have arisen as to which body they properly belong.

8. The Board shall consider and agree upon joint political or other action when such is deemed to be advantageous or necessary, and is agreed to by all the constituent bodies.

9. The Board may, in cases of trade disputes, with the concurrence of the Executive of the union or unions affected, use its influence to bring about a settlement.

A special meeting of the Joint Board was held at the offices of the Labour Party on the 17th of March, 1908.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., presided. Also in attendance—Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P., Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Mr. John Ward, M.P., Alderman Allen Gee, J.P., Mr. W. C. Robinson, and Mr. W. A. Appleton.

The meeting had been called to take into consideration the Trade Union status of the Municipal Employés Association.

The previous resolutions of the Trades Union Congress and the Joint Board were considered, together with the rules of the Municipal Association and the letter of Mr. R. Davies.

The Joint Board desired that its decisions should not appear to be directed against any individual organisation, but that it should attempt to deal with an important problem by deciding that, within a given time, all unions which sought to separate workmen from the Trade Union which was organised for the phase of industry to which they belonged should be refused recognition by the Trades Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Labour Party. With that object in view the following resolution was passed *nem. con.* :—

That this Board re-adopts the decision of the Trades Union Congress of 1906, regarding the impropriety of a separation between public and private employés for Trade Union purposes, as follows :—

“That any method of organisation which seeks to divide workmen employed by public authorities from their fellows in the same occupations employed by private firms is detrimental to the best interests of Trade Unionism.”

But, in view of the fact that the three national organisations have recognised such unions formed of workers employed by the State and the municipalities, the Joint Board is of opinion that no single union should be separately dealt with at present, the Board is, however, of opinion that by the first day of May, 1910, all these unions of publicly employed workpeople should be assimilated in national unions, and recommends that after that date no recognition should be given to any sectional union then in existence.

The Joint Board further decided to advise Trade Unionists to refrain from assisting in the organisation or attempted organisation of such sectional unions.

UNEMPLOYED BILL.—In view of misleading statements made by a section of the Press it was resolved that the following resolution be immediately published :—

The Joint Board, representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Labour Party, met to-day, and amongst other things considered the debate on the Unemployed Bill last Friday. It was unanimously resolved to thank Mr. P. W. Wilson, M.P., for introducing the Bill, and, in view of certain statements made during the debate, it desires to state that it was fully responsible for the Bill being drafted and introduced, and repudiates most strongly the suggestion that in its working it will be inimical to Trade Unionism.

APRIL 29TH, 1908.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., presiding. Also present : Messrs. W. C. Steadman, M.P., A. H. Gill, M.P., Alex. Wilkie, M.P., John Ward, M.P., Pete Curran, M.P., Ald. Allen Gee, J.P., Messrs. J. R. McDonald, M.P., A. Henderson, M.P., J. R. Clynes, M.P., W. C. Robinson, and W. A. Appleton.

Representing the executives of the unions involved : Mr. A. Stark, Associated Joiners ; Mr. W. Matkin, General Union Carpenters and Joiners ; Mr. F. Smith, Amalgamated Union of Cabinet Makers ; Mr. T. Park, Wood Cutting Machinists ; Mr. S. Hunter, Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners ; Mr. D. T. McLaren, Scottish Saw Millers ; Mr. Alex. Gossip, Furnishing Trades Association ; and Mr. James O'Grady, M.P.

Representing the local Workers' Committee : Messrs. Liddle, Patterson, Butterworth, Jones, McDonic, and Anderson.

Mr. Shackleton explained the circumstances which called them together, and reported delegations to Newcastle and Carlisle, the first of which arose out of a meeting of the Joint Board and the second out of a request by the

local workers' committee. At Carlisle they were told that the employers emphatically refused anything in the shape of arbitration or conciliation, and demanded that the men should return to work on the full reduction.

The executives present reported that the employers had accentuated their attitude by giving notice to terminate all existing conciliation agreements.

After the meeting had been in progress some time Messrs. Wilkie and Hunter asked for an adjournment to enable them to keep an appointment with the Board of Trade.

The meeting was adjourned as requested, and at its reassembling Mr. Hunter said the President of the Board of Trade had certain suggestions to offer, but he declined to state these to any other than the executive officers of the unions involved. It was ultimately agreed that these officers be accompanied by Messrs. Shackleton, Curran and Henderson, and the meeting adjourned till the following day.

APRIL 30TH, 1908.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., presided. Also present: Messrs. A. Henderson, M.P., J. R. MacDonald, M.P., John Ward, M.P., Alex Wilkie, M.P., Pete Curran, M.P., J. R. Clynes, M.P., W. C. Steadman, M.P., Allen Gee, W. C. Robinson and W. A. Appleton.

Mr. J. O'Grady, M.P., and Messrs. Butterworth, Johns, McDonic, Liddle, Patterson, Stark, Hunter, Park, Smith, and Matkin represented the Executives of the unions involved and the local committee.

Mr. Shackleton stated that little could be done at the moment for negotiations were still proceeding. He therefore asked that the deputation should wait in London.

Answering the questions of the local representatives as to pledges, Mr. Shackleton said it was understood that if the employers accepted what was suggested the men would return to work.

The local representatives contended that the situation at present concerned only the N.E. coast, and they asked that before any definite pledges were given they should be consulted.

It was agreed that this should be done.

A long discussion on representation led to Mr. McDonic's name being added to the list. The meeting then adjourned till May 1st, at 2-30 p.m.

MAY 1ST, 1908.

Mr. Henderson, M.P., presided. Also present: Messrs. Pete Curran, M.P., John Ward, M.P., J. R. MacDonald, M.P., A. H. Gill, M.P., W. C. Robinson, and W. A. Appleton.

Mr. J. O'Grady, M.P., and Mr. Jenkins, M.P., and Messrs. Park, Smith, Stark, Hunter, McLaren, Liddle, Patterson, McDonic, Johns, Anderson, and Butterworth represented the executives and local committee.

Mr. Henderson reported that the terms suggested to the employers had been considered by their committee, who declared that the similarity of the terms with those previously rejected by the employers made it impossible for them to suspend lock-out notices.

The impression prevailed that a general lock-out was inevitable, and the representatives proceeded to discuss ways and means of dealing with this.

It was resolved on the motion of the executive representatives that the Joint Board issue a manifesto, and that the preparation of this be placed in the hands of Messrs. W. C. Steadman, J. R. MacDonald, and W. A. Appleton.

The representatives were informed that a meeting of employers was considering the situation, and it was resolved that they adjourn until this meeting terminated.

After the adjournment, Mr. Henderson reported that the employers had closed their meeting, leaving their affairs in the hands of a sub-committee, which, however, had no power to suspend notices, and it was definitely stated that there could be no suspension unless the men returned to work unconditionally on the reduction and without further ballot, both sides agreeing to set up permanent machinery for the settlement of all future disputes on general questions of wages and hours of labour in the shipbuilding yards, on the understanding that the Board so constituted should be fully empowered to deal with and settle questions before them.

The delegates concurred in stating that these terms could have been had before the strike, and individually expressed their inability to accept them.

It was resolved that the thanks of the representatives of the workmen be accorded the Joint Board for their efforts to secure a settlement.

It was further resolved that the Joint Board meet on the 4th at noon in the House of Commons.

MAY 4TH, 1908.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., presided. Also present: Messrs. A. Henderson, M.P., Pete Curran, M.P., J. R. MacDonald, M.P., John Ward, M.P., W. C. Steadman, M.P., and W. A. Appleton.

The business of the meeting was to consider the draft manifesto on the N.E. coast situation and to decide upon the advisability of raising the question in the House of Commons. Various alterations in the text of the manifesto were suggested, and the secretary was instructed to obtain revised proofs. It was decided not to raise the question of the lock-out at the moment, but to leave this subject open until the result of pending negotiations was known. It was resolved that the secretary telegraph for the attendance of the sub-committee, consisting of executive and local representatives, at a further meeting to be held in the House of Commons on the 6th at 11.

MAY 6TH, 1908.—STATUTORY MEETING.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., presided. Also in attendance: Messrs. W. C. Steadman, M.P., A. H. Gill, M.P., Pete Curran, M.P., John Ward, M.P., Ald. Allen Gee, Messrs. J. R. MacDonald, M.P., J. R. Clynes, M.P., A. Henderson, M.P., W. C. Robinson and W. A. Appleton.

The minutes of previous meetings were received and confirmed.

CONSTITUTION.

It was resolved that Rule 5 be amended by the insertion after the word "determine," on line 2, of the words, "on the application of one of its constituent bodies." It was resolved that Rule 9 be amended by the insertion after the word "affected" of the words, "and on the application of the constituent body affected."

SECTIONAL UNIONS.

The *bona-fides* of the Small Arms Employés' Union and the Royal Gunpowder Factory Employés' Union were inquired into, and it was resolved that these be invited to attend the next statutory meeting of the Board, and, further, that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers be asked for any observations they may wish to make concerning these societies and their rules.

LABOUR NEWSPAPER.

The circular issued by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and referred to the Joint Board was discussed at length, and it was resolved that the question be referred to a sub-committee consisting of the chairmen and secretaries of the organisations forming the Joint Board, and that inquiries be instituted with a view to finding out whether private individuals would take up shares.

NORTH-EAST COAST.

Further conference of those interested in the dispute. Mr. Jas. O'Grady, M.P., with Messrs. Park, Smith, Hunter, Stark, Liddle, Patterson, McDonic, Butterworth, Anderson, Jenkins, Matkin and Johns now joined the Joint Board, and the chairman informed them that the employers were coming to town and that the Board of Trade desired the attendance of the acting sub-committee, consisting of the executive representatives of the unions involved. This committee desired the continued attendance and assistance of Messrs. Shackleton, Curran and Henderson.

An adjournment took place to enable the committee to attend at the Board of Trade, and on the resumption the chairman reported that the employers absolutely refused to depart from the 1s. 6d. reduction, and they offered nothing in the shape of machinery which appeared satisfactory to the men.

It was resolved that the responsible members present consult with the executives and obtain definite instructions, and meet at the House of Commons at 2-30.

On the re-assembling of the meeting the following proposals were submitted as a basis upon which both sides could meet:—

A Joint Conference to be held between the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation and representatives of the various branches of the shipbuilding trades, with a view to the setting up of permanent machinery fair to both employers and employed, to deal with all future questions that may arise in the shipbuilding trade.

Both parties to be free to make proposals as to the constitution of the machinery.

Each side to have its own chairman selected from among themselves.

The employers demand as an essential condition that the operatives should attend the first conference with plenary powers.

It was also suggested that any branch of the shipbuilding industry not represented at the present proceedings, or not represented at the conference for the creation of the permanent machinery, should not prevent the conference being held or in any way render it abortive.

It was resolved that the meeting be adjourned until May 11th, at 2-30, and that the responsible men take counsel with the executives, and come with definite instructions.

MAY 11TH, 1908.

Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., presided. Also in attendance: Messrs W. C. Steadman, M.P., Pete Curran, M.P., W. C. Robinson, and W. A. Appleton.

Messrs. Jenkins, Butterworth, Matkin, Liddle, Johns, Patterson, Hunter, McDonic, Stark, Smith, Park, and Anderson represented the executives and the local committee.

An appointment having been arranged at the Board of Trade for 4-30 it was resolved that the sub-committee meet at that time and the full Board at

7 p.m. Conferences at the Board of Trade necessitated a further adjournment until 9 p.m., when the later terms of reference were submitted as follow :—

EMPLOYERS' TERMS.

1. The men to return to work at a reduction of 1s. 6d. per week.
2. Within two weeks after the resumption of work a joint conference to be held between the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation and representatives of the various branches of the shipbuilding trade with a view to the setting up of permanent machinery fair to both employers and employed to deal with all future questions that may arise in the shipbuilding trade.

Both parties to be free to make any proposals as to the constitution of this machinery.

Each side to have its own chairman, selected from among themselves.

If any branch of the shipbuilding industry declines to be represented at the conference for the creation of the permanent machinery above mentioned, this fact shall in no way prevent the conference being held, or render it in any way abortive.

ADDENDUM.

Should a deadlock unfortunately arise at the conference with regard to any question of procedure, the President of the Board of Trade would address a friendly invitation to the parties before the conference is broken off to discuss the difficulties with him, with a view to arriving at a solution.

It was resolved that these be submitted to the men, and that Mr. Appleton draft a statement and ballot paper for consideration the following morning at 11 a.m.

MAY 12TH, 1908.

Mr. Henderson, M.P., presided. Also in attendance: Messrs. Pete Curran, M.P., W. C. Robinson, and W. A. Appleton, representing the Joint Board, and Messrs. Jenkins, Butterworth, Matkins, Johns, Patterson, Liddle, Hunter, McDonic, Stark, Park, Smith and Anderson, representing the executives involved and the local committee.

The following statement and ballot paper was submitted and approved. It was resolved that the statement be signed by all the members of the Joint Board and the representatives of the executives involved :—

SHIPBUILDING LOCK-OUT.—STATEMENT AND BALLOT PAPER.

It will be within the knowledge of all who are implicated in the unfortunate dispute on the North-East Coast that from the early part of April the Joint Board, representing the Trades Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Labour Party, has sought, in conjunction with the executive officers of the unions involved, to effect a settlement on terms which Trade Unionists would consider honourable.

The fact that others had unsuccessfully made similar attempts did not lighten the task of the Joint Board. Five weeks were spent in anxious negotiations before terms which appeared to offer a basis of settlement could be obtained from the employers, and these terms ultimately came through the medium of the Board of Trade.

These suggestions, though not wholly satisfactory, do concede provisions for the establishment of permanent machinery for the settlement of future disputes.

Your representatives, with the aid of the Joint Board, endeavoured to secure more favourable terms, but without avail, and, after considering the gravity of the situation, they resolved to place the terms before the men for a direct vote.

In proposing this course we recognise our serious responsibility, and desire that the men shall equally recognise theirs and decide what is best for themselves and their unions.

(Signed)

D. J. SHACKLETON,
W. C. STEADMAN,
A. H. GILL,
ARTHUR HENDERSON,
J. RAMSAY MACDONALD,
J. R. CLYNES,
W. C. ROBINSON.
PETE CURRAN,
JOHN WARD,
ALLEN GEE,
W. A. APPLETON.

Joint Board.

THOS. PARK, Wood Cutting Machinists.

A. STARK, Associated Society Carpenters and Joiners.

T. McDONIC, Sunderland and Hartlepool Shipwrights.

F. SMITH, Amalgamated Union of Cabinet Makers.

S. HUNTER, Amalgamated Society Carpenters and Joiners.

D. ANDERSON, Associated Shipwrights.

W. MATKIN, General Union of Carpenters and Joiners.

J. O'GRADY, Furnishing Trades Association.

D. McLAREN, Scottish Saw Mills Operatives.

SOCIETIES' JOINT BALLOT VOTE

OF ALL THE MEMBERS OF ALL THE SOCIETIES INVOLVED IN THE PRESENT
DISPUTE WITH THE SHIPBUILDING EMPLOYERS' FEDERATION.

May, 1908.

Submitted at the request of the Joint Board, representing the Trades Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Labour Party, with the approval of the Executive Officers of the Unions involved.

Are you in favour of accepting the terms of settlement obtained from the employers by the Joint Board through the medium of the Board of Trade ?	YES.	
	NO.	

To vote, place a X opposite yes or no. Any other mark will disqualify.

This ballot paper must be filled up and returned in the ordinary way not later than Saturday, May 23rd.

It was further resolved, that copies of the Statement and Ballot Paper be given to each society interested in order that each society might take the ballot in accordance with its own customs.

MAY 25TH, 1908.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., presided ; and there were represented in the Joint Board: Messrs. W. C. Steadman, M.P., Alex. Wilkie, M.P., Will Thorne, M.P., C. W. Bowerman, M.P., John Ward, M.P., J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and W. A. Appleton.

Representing the executives of the societies involved and the local workers' committee were: Messrs. Jenkins, M.P., O'Grady, M.P., Stark, Matkin, McDonic, Liddel, Gossip, Butterworth, Anderson, Park, Smith, Hunter and Maclaren.

The Chairman asked those present to decide what form of procedure should be adopted in declaring a vote which had been taken on the latest terms submitted by the employers on the North-East Coast.

It was decided that only the aggregate figures should be published. These figures showed that about 50 per cent. of the workmen had exercised their right to vote. Of these, 24,145 were in favour of accepting the terms, while 22,110 were against this course. It was resolved that these figures be formally presented to the President of the Board of Trade, and at the request of the representatives of the workmen Messrs. A. Henderson, M.P., C. W. Bowerman, M.P., and W. A. Appleton accompanied them on their visit to Mr. Churchill.

It was decided to press upon the employers:—

1. That it be a condition of re-starting work that the men go back to the same work and in the old places in which they were engaged prior to the dispute, and that the employers engage not to start any new men until the employés who came out on strike or were locked out had been re-started.

2. That the Sunderland notice of reduction issued during the lock-out be withdrawn and proper working notice substituted. It was recommended too that attempts be made to arrange for the men starting work on the Friday morning. It was further resolved to suggest that the President of the Board of Trade invite the employers to a conference in London as soon as such could be arranged, the President himself to take the chair if such a course was acceptable to the employers.

The result of the ballot and the suggestions made were reported to Mr. Churchill, who promised to do everything that was possible to further a settlement of the dispute.

It was decided to adjourn the meeting in order to give the president opportunities to communicate with the employers.

Mr. Henderson undertook to summon the full committee whenever definite information had been obtained as to the employers' intentions.

MAY 27TH, 1908.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., and Mr. W. A. Appleton represented the Joint Board. Mr. James O'Grady, M.P., Mr. Jenkins, M.P., Mr. Alex. Wilkie, M.P., and Messrs. Matkin, Gossip, Smith, Park, McLaren, McDonic, Hunter, Anderson, Butterworth, and Thomson.

The President of the Board of Trade informed the representatives of the workmen that he had conveyed the result of the ballot as submitted to him on Monday to the employers on the North-East Coast. He gathered, as a result of the interviews with the employers, that they considered the dispute on the Wear was governed by the ballot, and that the men might have to accept both reductions ; that the men would be taken back as opportunity permitted, but

they would be given priority of employment. They had no intention of victimising any men. Demarcations would be accepted as in the past. The employers declared that as soon as they received formal notification of the termination of the strike they were prepared to open yards and arrange for the men to resume work. Mr. Park suggested that it would be necessary to arrange conditions of work before the formal notice of acceptance was forwarded. He regarded the proper notice of the Wear shipwrights as an essential condition of acceptance. Mr. McDonic said the men on the Wear absolutely refused to go back on the double reduction. The President of the Board of Trade asked whether this question was not before the men on the 8th of May, and whether they had not by their vote accepted the double reduction. Mr. Henderson explained that the employers had no right in custom or equity to give notice while the men were out of employment. He said the Joint Board were prepared to support the Wear in their demand for a customary and adequate notice.

The President and officials of the Board of Trade retired for a short time in order to give the representatives of the workmen opportunities to consider the situation privately.

On the return of the President of the Board of Trade, it was explained that the men were asked to ballot on the terms of the employers, and the main condition demanded was the acceptance of a general reduction of 1s. 6d. The Wear shipwrights had no part in the original dispute, inasmuch as they compromised by a reduction of 1s., and they considered that the demand for a further reduction of 1s. 6d. was unfair, and that notice of the increased demand had not been given in accordance with recognised custom. They were prepared, however, to discuss this matter along with others at Carlisle.

On the suggestion of the President of the Board of Trade, formal notification of acceptance of the terms stated on the ballot paper was forwarded to the employers.

The meeting terminated with an expression of warm thanks to Mr. Churchill and the officials of the Board of Trade for their efforts on behalf of a settlement of the dispute.

On Friday, the 29th May, the federated employers and the representatives of the societies involved in the dispute met in conference in Carlisle, Messrs. A. Henderson and C. W. Bowerman being in attendance as representatives of the Joint Board, in case their advice should be sought by the workmen's representatives. At this meeting, and after protracted discussion, an agreement was arrived at whereby the men returned to work within the following week, and it was also decided that a meeting of both sides should be held within a fortnight for the purpose of setting up machinery whereby similar disputes might be avoided in future.

June 25th, 1908.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., presided. Also in attendance: Messrs. Alex. Wilkie, M.P., W. C. Steadman, M.P., Pete Curran, M.P., John Ward, M.P., Alderman Allen Gee, Messrs. W. A. Appleton, J. R. Clynes, M.P., Arthur Henderson, M.P., J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., W. C. Robinson.

The Joint Board met for the purpose of receiving the report of the Sub-Committee which had been appointed to draft a circular-letter to the affiliated societies asking them to guarantee a proportionate share of the capital required to start the Labour daily newspaper. The discussion centred round the advisability of accepting share capital from other than affiliated societies, and the legality or otherwise of an investment such as Trade Unions were being asked to make. It was finally decided that an attempt should be made to discover how far it would be legal for Trade Unions to invest their funds in a

speculative undertaking such as was suggested, and to this end Messrs. Shackleton, Steadman, MacDonald and Appleton were instructed to wait upon the Registrar-General in order to obtain his view of the situation.

NORTH-EAST COAST.—The Secretary reported that £66 6s. 9d. had already been spent in connection with the joint meetings and delegations necessitated by the negotiations on the North-East Coast. Details of this expenditure had been supplied to Mr. Steadman and to Mr. MacDonald. The Secretary's report respecting expenditure was approved and adopted, but his suggestion that a treasurer be appointed was not acted upon.

THE STATUTORY MEETING.—It was resolved that a statutory meeting be held on July 29th, at 4 p.m., in the House of Commons, instead of as originally arranged for August 5th.

July 29th, 1908.

Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., presided. Also in attendance: Messrs. Alex. Wilkie, M.P., A. H. Gill, M.P., W. C. Steadman, M.P., Pete Curran, M.P., John Ward, M.P., Ald. Allen Gee, Messrs. Arthur Henderson, M.P., J. R. Clynes, M.P., W. C. Robinson, J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and W. A. Appleton.

The minutes of the N.E. Coast meetings, the previous statutory meetings, and the meeting held on June 25th were received and adopted.

ATTENDANCE FEES.

The following resolution was passed: "That no member of the Joint Board, acting as a delegate for his own society, shall receive attendance fees from the Joint Board during the consideration of his society's business."

CORRESPONDENCE.

Arising out of correspondence were the following:—

SALVATION ARMY AND SWEATING.—Mr. Shackleton explained the efforts of the Parliamentary Committee and stated that they were preparing a report to the Trade Union Congress.

VARIETY ARTISTS.

The Secretary of the Variety Artists Federation questioned the Trade Union *bonâ-fides* of the Artists Protection League, and Mr. Appleton was instructed to write this society asking for the current balance sheet and report and for the latest set of rules.

TRAMWAY WORKERS AND THE M.E.A.

The Amalgamated Association of Tramway and Vehicle Workers and the National Union of Labour complained of the poaching operations of the Municipal Employees' Association. Mr. Appleton was instructed to express the Board's regret and to reiterate the position of the Board towards all such unions.

TRADE UNION STATUS OF ORGANISATIONS.

The Trade Union status of the Small Arms Employees' Union, Enfield Lock, and Royal Gunpowder Employees' Union being questioned, representatives of these unions and of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers attended before the Board. Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P., and Mr. L. Davie were for the A.S.E., while Messrs. T. G. Hickford, J. McGrath, W. Matthews, and M. Bond represented the other unions.

The engineers alleged that the two unions did not conform to the generally accepted conditions of a Trade Union; their membership consisted of tradesmen who ought to be in other unions, they had no compulsory strike

benefits and their contributions were totally inadequate for Trade Union purposes.

Most of these contentions were admitted by the representatives of the unions implicated, who, however, urged in extenuation that there was no existing union which met their requirements. To join the Labourers' Union pure and simple would be to invite a depreciation of their wages. They contended that some of their members were highly skilled and possessed special mechanical knowledge, and offered to consider favourably any suggestion the Joint Board might make concerning their complete transference to one of the existing unions. They contended that joining separate unions would dissipate their strength.

After careful consideration, the Joint Board instructed Mr. Appleton to inform the unions that no departure could be made from the resolution adopted in June last, and that while there was no desire to act harshly, it was necessary to discourage the formation and existence of sectional unions.

The unions concerned must, therefore, take the necessary steps to meet the requirements as outlined in the Trades Congress resolutions and in the resolutions of the Joint Board.

LABOUR NEWSPAPER.

Messrs. Shackleton, Steadman, and Appleton reported having visited the Chief Registrar as instructed for the purpose of ascertaining the attitude of the Registrar towards the proposal to invest the money of Trade Unions in a company which was formed for the purpose of running a Labour daily newspaper.

The Registrar stated that he would register any rule having the aforesaid object in view, provided such rule was properly passed by the society adopting it, and suggested in the interests of the unions themselves that a model rule be drafted and adopted by the whole of the societies desiring to invest.

The report of the Sub-Committee was adopted, and they were instructed to complete the circular already considered, to draft the model rule, and to circulate these amongst the societies.

AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS—N.E. COAST.

This matter was brought under the consideration of the Joint Board, but the representatives of the General Federation of Trade Unions reported that their own Management Committee was already dealing with the subject, and that in all probability had made some inquiries into the situation.

It was resolved that an emergency sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. Shackleton, Macdonald, and Appleton, be appointed to act if the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions felt that such action was desired.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Your Committee have strenuously endeavoured to discharge the important duties entrusted to them by the Bath Congress, and they look with confidence for your endorsement of their work. We heartily congratulate the Congress on the present signs of the awakening of the public mind to some sense of its duty towards Labour. The first duty of your Committee was to give you an account of their stewardship in relation to the resolutions passed at the last Congress.

We meet in times of exceptional distress. Trade is very much depressed, which is due to a variety of causes. The Unemployed Workmen's Act, which expired in August last, has been renewed for a further period of twelve months.

We hope, however, that it will be replaced by a far better measure, and we appeal to the workers to turn their attention to this all-important matter by bringing pressure to bear upon members of Parliament to support the Bill introduced by Mr. P. W. Wilson, M.P., on behalf of the Labour movement. The granting of the right to work should be one of simple justice, for the future happiness and welfare, not only of the people, but of the nation, depends upon the solution of this serious social problem.

Yours fraternally,

THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

D. J. SHACKLETON, Chairman,
A. H. GILL, Vice-Chairman,
W. J. DAVIS, Treasurer,
G. N. BARNES,
R. BELL,
C. W. BOWERMAN,
F. CHANDLER,
BEN COOPER,
D. C. CUMMINGS,
J. HASLAM,
W. B. HORNIDGE,
W. MOSSES,
J. SEXTON,
W. THORNE,
A. WILKIE,
J. B. WILLIAMS,
W. C. STEADMAN, Secretary.

OBITUARY.

We are sorry to have to record the death during the past year of Sir W. Randal Cremer, M.P. As is known, he devoted the greater portion of his life to the cause of international peace. He may not have been well known to the present generation in the Trade Union movement, but was a staunch Trade Unionist up to the time of his death. In the unavoidable absence of the Chairman, the Parliamentary Committee was represented at the funeral by the Secretary.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ATTENDANCES.

	Oct. 16, 1907	Oct. 17	Nov. 20	Nov. 21	Dec. 18	Dec. 19	Jan. 27, 1908	Jan. 28	Jan. 29	Jan. 30	Jan. 31	Feb. 19	Feb. 20	Feb. 25	Feb. 26	March 18	March 19	April 14	April 15	May 12	May 13	June 17	June 18	July 15	July 16	Aug. 31	Sept. 1	Sept. 2	Sept. 3	Sept. 4	Sept. 5	TOTAL
	P	P	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	Present	Absent
*D. J. SHACKLETON	P	P	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	29	2
A. H. GILL	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	29	2
W. J. DAVIS	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	26	5
D. C. CUMMINGS	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	31	—
†F. CHANDLER	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	27	4
J. SEXTON.....	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	29	2
G. N. BARNES.....	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	6	25
†W. THORNE	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	27	4
†J. HASLAM	A	A	P	P	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	25	5
C. W. BOWERMAN	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	31	—
†A. WILKIE	P	P	A	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	21	10
R. BELL	P	A	P	P	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	26	5
†W. B. HORNDGE	P	P	P	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	8	23
BEN COOPER	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	31	—
J. B. WILLIAMS	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	31	—
W. MOSSES	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	31	—
†W. C. STEADMAN (Sec.)	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	27	4

* Absent in America.

† Serving upon Royal Commission on Poor Law.

‡ Absent through illness.

DISCUSSION ON THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

LABOUR UNITY IN PARLIAMENT.

Mr. A. GOULD (Carpenters and Joiners) wanted to know if anything had been done to ensure that the conditions laid down by the Joint Committee with respect to Labour unity in the House of Commons would be adhered to.

The PRESIDENT: According to the arrangement entered into, the Labour Party and the Trade Union groups will hold monthly meetings each session; but those members who cannot fall into line will not be included. The conditions are quite clear, and all coming to the meetings will agree to them.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE UNEMPLOYMENT ACT.

Mr. PARKER (Enginemen's National Federation) desired to know if the Parliamentary Committee had done anything in respect of the way the local authorities were interpreting the Unemployment Act. It seemed to him that the money was being very largely used up in official salaries. Their communications to the Councils were ignored, and complaints to the Local Government Board had been similarly treated. He would like the Parliamentary Committee to place the matter before the Local Government Board, with a view to getting the evils removed. In his district £90 out of a total expenditure of £100 went in official salaries; and the Town Clerk claimed £25 per year for calling one meeting, which was really called by his clerk.

The PRESIDENT: The Parliamentary Committee are quite willing to do all in their power to secure the efficient working of the Act, and if our friends have anything in the shape of useful information that might help us in an interview with Mr. John Burns we shall be obliged if they will send it on.

THE ATTITUDE OF MR. MADDISON AND MR. VIVIAN.

Mr. A. G. CAMERON (Carpenters and Joiners) asked Congress to repudiate the sentiments expressed by Mr. Maddison and Mr. Vivian with respect to the Unemployed Workmen Bill in the House of Commons, as set out in the Report. He moved:—

That this Congress repudiates the opinions and sentiments expressed by Messrs. Burns, Maddison, and Vivian in regard to the Unemployed Workmen Bill when it came up in the House of Commons.

He thought Congress should let the public know that the sentiments expressed by the two gentlemen in question on the floor of the House of Commons were absolutely at variance with the views entertained by the rank and file of the Labour movement.

Mr. A. GOULD (Carpenters and Joiners) seconded the resolution.

Mr. J. B. STEVENS (Tin Plate Workers): I should like to know what the mover and seconder of the resolution object to. We ought to have a definite statement, and not condemn these men without knowing what the condemnation means.

The PRESIDENT: My own opinion is that our friends would be better advised to content themselves with expressing their views in their speeches. I think it is in the interests of all that we should not go too far in this matter.

Mr. A. G. CAMERON: We are opposed to Vivian, Maddison, and Burns in every way.

Mr. T. E. NAYLOR (London Compositors): Are we not justified in dissociating ourselves from the opinions of every Member of Parliament on this and every other question who is not a member of the Labour Party? By voting for this resolution we shall be simply saying we disagree with our recognised opponents.

The resolution having been declared lost on a show of hands, a card vote was demanded. This resulted as follows:—

For the Resolution.....	826,000
Against	801,000
Majority for.....	25,000

THE MENACE OF SWEATED INDUSTRIES.

Mr. M. SCLARE (Jewish Tailors and Machinists) wanted to know what had become of Mr. George Barnes's "Bill to Provide for the Better Regulation of Home Industries."

The PRESIDENT: The Bill was introduced by Mr. Barnes, but not being successful in the ballot it has not been further proceeded with.

SWEATING IN THE SALVATION ARMY.

Mr. A. G. CAMERON (Carpenters and Joiners): I wish to move the following addendum to the Report of the Parliamentary Committee with reference to the sweating practised by the Salvation Army at its Hanbury Street Joinery Works:—

This Trades Union Congress, having heard the statements made regarding the under-payment of the men employed by the Salvation Army at their Hanbury Street Joinery Works, emphatically brands the army as sweaters aggravated by disguise under the cloak of philanthropic and rescue work; further calls upon the Government to institute a public inquiry into the Hanbury Street Works, and the disposal of the public funds entrusted to the army for their social, philanthropic, and rescue work amongst the wreckage of human society; and recommends the Parliamentary Committee to have the matter brought forward on the floor of the House of Commons at the earliest opportunity.

It is quite time something was done to let the public know what is going on in connection with this and other sections of the Salvation Army's Social Wing. On Sunday a demonstration in connection with this matter was held in Trafalgar Square, which something like 30,000 people attended. The resolution I am now proposing was carried unanimously, and if it is now endorsed by this Congress it will do much to put an end to one of the most successful frauds that has ever been carried on under the cloak of religion. Some of the best of men are being forced down into a cesspool, out of which they will never be able to rise again.

The PRESIDENT: I think, before we vote upon this matter, we ought to have an explanation from a member of the Parliamentary Committee who has had charge of this inquiry. I shall, therefore, ask Mr. Bowerman to say a few words.

Mr. C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P. (Parliamentary Committee): I am afraid I cannot add much to the exhaustive Report upon this subject which is already in your hands. I do not propose to discuss the proposition which has been handed up to the Chairman. So far as the lengthy letter from Commissioner Sturgess is concerned, the Parliamentary Committee had no opportunity for discussing the matter until last Tuesday morning, and there has therefore, obviously, been no time to formulate a reply thereto. But the Committee did go over the letter, and the report contains a very brief summary of the points which it was thought desirable to place before Congress. Commissioner Sturgess denies that the Hanbury Street dépôt had been conducted as an ordinary carpenter's shop, and we pointed out that from the evidence before us, and the admissions made by the General's subordinate officials, the place is conducted upon much the same lines as an ordinary carpenter's shop. The men who applied there for shelter were called upon to agree to certain conditions of employment, and unless the men were prepared to agree to those conditions no room was found for them in the Hanbury Street dépôt. I need hardly point out that the men applying there for admission are hardly likely to refuse any conditions that might be placed before them. I want to drive that point home—that, although this is a shelter for homeless and foodless men, they are called upon to sign conditions before a place is found for them. Then as regards the questions of overtime and "pulling out." Those two points were brought out in our interview, and we submitted that it was almost trifling with the question for the Salvation Army to say that the dépôt was not being run on ordinary business lines in face of the fact that the men were called upon to "pull out" and that overtime was worked. One point we placed before General Booth considerably impressed him—that men were being sent from the dépôt in order to do work for outside builders. He turned to his chief officer and made inquiries concerning the matter, and I, personally, am of opinion that if it had been left to General Booth he would have at once declared that nothing of the kind should be repeated. But he was pulled up by his officials; and, as you see by the letter sent to us, they take a different

view of the situation. Now, as to the resolution handed up, I would suggest to our friends that, looking at the extreme importance of this matter, looking to the fact that there is a side to it which appeals very strongly indeed to the public, they should not press the proposition, but rest satisfied for the moment with the Report placed before them, and instruct the Parliamentary Committee to continue this matter by seeing General Booth again and discussing at length the letter received from his chief officer. If this course be adopted, I venture to hope that something more satisfactory may be placed before you at the next Congress or earlier. Speaking for those of my colleagues whom I have consulted, I am able to say that we should much prefer that you should leave the matter in our hands.

Mr. F. KENNEDY (Builders' Labourers): Will the delegates tolerate for one moment a man like General Booth, who cadges the money and clothes, and then gives a man 2d. an hour for his labour? I hope we shall pass a strong resolution condemning General Booth and all his works. Why, he is undercutting the laundry-women! I earnestly ask Congress not to wait for another year. Let us have it out now.

Mr. F. BOWER (Liverpool Stonemasons): We say that charity is a curse; and I favour the resolution.

The visitors hereupon indulged in a hearty burst of applause.

The PRESIDENT: We are pleased to see our friends in the gallery, but I must ask them to restrain their feelings during the debates.

Mr. W. MATKIN (Carpenters and Joiners): I agree with Mr. Bowerman to a certain extent that there are two sides to this question; but this scandal has been going on long enough. Nor is the Salvation Army the only institution practising these methods. The "pulling out" of these men is causing a good deal of "pulling out" and Americanising in our workshops. It is scandalous that this kind of thing should be allowed to exist. I hope the Labour Members will bring this matter up in the House of Commons, and that a full inquiry will be made into all these institutions. We know very well, what with the insurance companies and the Compensation Act, that men are being turned adrift for whom there is no room in the competitive workshop, and it is a question that should be grappled with most strenuously.

Mr. J. HOLMES (Hosiery Federation), while disagreeing with General Booth's methods and policy, had every confidence in the Parliamentary Committee being able to sift the matter to the bottom. Indeed, he thought the Parliamentary Committee ought to be thanked for what had already been done in the matter, and their hands should be strengthened by Congress in seeing the investigation through. They should be sure of their facts in Congress, and not appear to the world as a sort of imperative authority. They should ask the Parliamentary Committee to investigate the charges thoroughly, for it raised a graver and a deeper question than appeared on the surface. The Salvation Army was dealing with wreckage which had been stranded upon the shores of our social system, and a Parliamentary Committee's investigation would be more effective than one inaugurated by the Government.

Mr. J. O'GRADY, M.P. (Furnishing Trades): I do not think any one can doubt my attitude towards this business, but I must ask our friends to support Mr. Bowerman in his appeal to be allowed to continue this matter to a final conclusion. I admit that men who are having their positions undermined are entitled to call for immediate action, but it is because I know they have such a splendid case that I am asking Congress to accept the position of the Parliamentary Committee. I want to point out the untenable position taken up by the Salvation Army. I always understood that General Booth was an autocrat, but I find he is in the hands of a bureaucracy. The facts we have in our possession can defeat the statements of Commissioner Sturgess clause by clause, and when that evidence comes to be more closely inquired into, whether by the Parliamentary Committee or by some other authority, our case will be so strong as not only to convince the public that this so-called "Elevator" is doing more harm than good, but that other institutions are also practising similar methods.

Mr. A. G. CAMERON: Do we understand that General Booth or Mr. Sturgess has refused to have any communication with the officials of the Trades Union Congress?

The PRESIDENT: No. We have a letter to reply to, that is the position.

The resolution was then by leave withdrawn, and the matter left in the hands of the Parliamentary Committee.

THE FAIR WAGES RESOLUTION.

A DELEGATE drew attention to that portion of the Report which deals with the Fair Wages Resolution of the House of Commons, and desired to know the nature of the powers of the Treasury Committee which had been appointed to consider the working of the resolution, whether the Committee's Report would contain any recommendation to the Government or come before Parliament.

The PRESIDENT: The Report will certainly contain some recommendations, and must come before Parliament.

THE OVERLAPPING QUESTION.

Mr. A. GOULD (Carpenters and Joiners) moved that the following reference to the overlapping of work which it is asserted occurs between the Parliamentary Committee and the Labour Party should be deleted from the Report:—

Your Committee came to the conclusion that, in the interests of the movement generally, it would not be wise to limit their own power to place on the agenda any resolution proposed by affiliated societies. One of the reasons for their decision was that the Labour Party, by its constitution, is generally in opposition to every Government; but the Parliamentary Committee is in a somewhat different position, and can approach with greater freedom, and, from some points of view, greater influence, the various Ministers of State,

etc., down to the end of the paragraph.

Mr. A. G. CAMERON (Carpenters and Joiners) seconded the proposition, which was immediately put to the vote, and lost.

LABOUR DAILY NEWSPAPER.

Mr. T. E. NAYLOR (London Compositors) congratulated the Parliamentary Committee and the Joint Board upon the businesslike way in which they had approached and dealt with the Labour daily newspaper question. He thought, however, that November of this year was too early a date for the societies to be asked to decide as to the shares they would take up. As it was the desire of the Parliamentary Committee that the Trade Unions should formulate a code of rules to enable them to take part in the scheme, there would not be sufficient time to get that rule passed by the members if they had to give an indication by November of this year as to the sum they were prepared to invest. He therefore hoped the Special Committee would take into consideration the desirability of giving the unions time to pass the rule to enable them to invest their funds in the undertaking. With the knowledge in the hands of the Committee, he should presume that the point he had raised would not be overlooked. He would like to appeal to the delegates to use their influence with the members of their unions to induce them to take the necessary steps to come into the scheme, which was of the utmost importance to the Labour movement. They had been too long without a daily newspaper, and now the opportunity was offered to them of possessing an organ of public opinion by which they could propagate their principles day by day. He therefore hoped the delegates would realise their responsibility in the matter, and do their utmost to bring about the establishment of the *Morning Herald*.

The PRESIDENT remarked that the most important page of the Report on the Labour daily newspaper question was the one to which they were asked to fill in the amount they were going to contribute towards the scheme.

THE MINIMUM WAGE.

Mr. A. HARRIS (Labour Protection League) desired to know if the subject of the minimum wage would be discussed during the ensuing Autumn Session.

The PRESIDENT: No.

UNPAID SUNDAY DUTY ON RAILWAYS.

Mr. A. J. WALKDEN (Railway Clerks): I want to know whether the Parliamentary Committee took any steps to get any resolution before the House of

Commons on the question of unpaid Sunday work on railways. We accept your report that you could not take any action with regard to the Cheshire Lines Bill; but was anything done in the direction of submitting a resolution to the House to the effect that no Bill should be considered that did not allow for the payment of Sunday labour?

The PRESIDENT: I think the explanation is quite clear that when you have got a Bill through second reading which may affect thousands of people with regard to employment, it is rather too late to make objection; and any society ought to give us proper notice so that we may have the matter cleared up.

Mr. A. J. WALKDEN: I quite understand that with regard to special Bills, but it was suggested that you should propose a general resolution.

The PRESIDENT: That has to be done by ballot, and we have to take our chance with 700 other members, so that it is not likely to come on.

CHEAPER DEATH CERTIFICATES.

Mr. J. ANDERSON (Stevedores) desired to congratulate the Parliamentary Committee upon the prompt way in which the business of death certificates had been handled and the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone acted upon. He would like to suggest, however, that in future the Parliamentary Committee's Secretary might notify the societies concerned with regard to the action taken on their behalf. His own union was quite in the dark as to what had been done in the matter of death certificates until they got to the General Federation Congress.

The PRESIDENT: We will bear your suggestion in mind.

THE USE OF MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS.

Mr. A. E. CHANDLER (Railway Clerks) complained of the attitude of municipal authorities towards the Trade Unions in respect to the hire of Council halls, and observed that if no notice was going to be taken of the circular issued by the Local Government Board it was time that the Congress informed Mr. Burns of the estimation in which he was held up and down the country. The Trade Unionists, who paid for these municipal buildings, had the right to use them for their own particular trade. He mentioned the matter because there was no other means of working his branch except by the use of one of the public buildings.

The PRESIDENT: It appears to me that if you had a Labour majority on your Town Council the trouble you complain of will disappear.

TO REDUCE THE HOURS OF CARTERS.

Mr. A. GRUNDY (Bolton Carters) said he understood that the Labour Party was considering the wisdom or otherwise of balloting for the Highways Bill (Vehicular Traffic), which was intended to reduce the working hours of carters. In view of the importance of the measure, he hoped the Parliamentary Committee would press the matter upon the consideration of the Labour Party.

THE EDUCATION OF THE BLIND.

The PRESIDENT gave an assurance that the Bill for the Education of the Blind would be introduced again next year.

THE RAILWAY SOCIETIES' DISPUTE.

The PRESIDENT announced that he was pleased to be able to state that the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen had now paid the costs of the inquiry into the dispute between that organisation and the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. He, therefore, hoped that the matters which had been at issue might be regarded as having been finally disposed of, and that there would be friendly working between the two societies in future.

LOST UPON A TECHNICAL POINT.

Mr. J. C. GORDON (Tin and Iron Plate Workers) called attention to the decision of the Parliamentary Committee in connection with the dispute between his union and the London and Provincial Society of Coppersmiths, and he declared that his

society was very much dissatisfied with the award, which had been given against them upon the purely technical point that some of the charges had been brought too late. The position had been cut from under their feet by a small society which never had a single member in the town during the dispute. As their case had simply failed upon a technical point he hoped Congress, when discussing amendment to Standing Order No. 20, would agree that it should be so comprehensive and broad as to apply to any difference between one society and another.

Mr. C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P. (on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee): Mr. Gordon apparently wants to ask us to go beyond the position taken up and acknowledge that the case had been lost upon a technical point. I am not prepared to admit that. I think the position laid down by us is the correct one—that we were quite unable to go beyond the period covered by the new Standing Order. In that decision we felt we should have your full support. So far as Mr. Gordon's society is concerned, we felt that they had made very great sacrifices indeed to maintain the position their executive had taken up; but whilst admitting that, we were unable to agree that the society concerned had broken faith with Mr. Gordon's union. It would be difficult to find another society of the same size and standing which has made such sacrifices in opposition to this premium bonus system; but, as to the other society, we could not discover any breach of faith, and, therefore, were obliged to give our decision as recorded.

AN IMPORTANT QUESTION AS TO COSTS.

The PRESIDENT called attention to the decision with reference to the dispute between the Amalgamated Union of Labour and the Durham Cokemen's Association. He said the Parliamentary Committee did not want to take hasty action in the matter of the non-payment of the costs incurred, and had allowed the report to be circulated before coming to a definite decision. The Committee felt that the Durham Cokemen's Association ought to abide by the decision of the inquiry and pay the costs, according to Standing Orders, before they could be heard on appeal. That was the common custom in all trade federations; and unless the society in question paid the costs he hoped Congress would support the Parliamentary Committee and decline to have the matter discussed. That was only fair to those who had taken up time in considering the question. If the delegate of the Cokemen's Association gave an undertaking to pay he would be in order, if he desired, to discuss the subject.

Mr. J. H. THOMAS (Railway Servants): I move that unless the member of the union concerned will guarantee the costs charged to him we, as a Congress, absolutely refuse to hear any complaint. It is our duty to uphold the decision of the Parliamentary Committee, and insist that the parties concerned shall be loyal to their compact.

Mr. W. MORLEY (Gasworkers and General Labourers) seconded.

The PRESIDENT: The Parliamentary Committee feel very strongly upon this matter, and have come to the decision that unless the delegate representing the society is willing to conform to the judgment he has no right to be present at Congress. We hope the seriousness of the position will be understood by the delegates.

Mr. J. TAYLOR (Midland Counties Federation): How is it that the Parliamentary Committee has accepted the fees of this society that has not carried out the terms of the decision?

The PRESIDENT: We have no power to stop them from coming. We can report here as to what steps should be taken. We have endeavoured since we met in Nottingham to effect a satisfactory settlement.

Mr. F. W. BOOTH (Typographical Association): One is inclined to admire the Parliamentary Committee for their spirited action, but the query of the gentleman who has just sat down is an exceedingly pertinent one. You have told him that you had no power to decline the fees of this society; but I want to know whether, when this society was affiliated by paying its fees, any intimation was conveyed to it that such a drastic resolution as this would be proposed. I question greatly whether this Conference is prepared to throw our friend bodily out on account of a misunderstanding after they have been accepted, and no information given to them that such a course as you have outlined would be carried out. I do urge that there is some argument in support of their position.

The PRESIDENT: We are governed by our Standing Orders as a Parliamentary Committee, and we have power to report these people. They were written to and told they would be reported, and we are entitled to make a recommendation. The position is that, unless these people are prepared to pay this money, they have no right to be present here.

Mr. T. DUFFY (Cokemen and Labourers): If I promise to pay the money next week, may I make my statement?

The PRESIDENT: Certainly. Now you can proceed.

Mr. T. DUFFY explained that instead of having to meet the single charge of persuading the members of the Amalgamated Union to join his association, they were also faced with the charge of inducing the members to leave their own association altogether. His union had never been guilty of that offence, and he was prepared to submit the correspondence to any Member of Parliament or Committee. He would pay all the costs of any inquiry if it could be shown that previous to the 17th of January they had encouraged any man to leave the Amalgamated Union of Labour in order to join the Cokemen's Society.

Mr. A. H. GILL, M.P. (on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee): Mr. Williams and myself and Mr. Sexton, who was unfortunately not able to be present, were appointed by the Parliamentary Committee to inquire into this case—not a very pleasant case, I can assure you. We went to Sheffield for the purpose of making inquiries. We were determined to get at the bottom of the grievance, and to give a faithful report according to the evidence. The Amalgamated Union of Labour had complained of the Durham Cokemen's Association, or members thereof, going into their districts and attempting to take their members from them. We put that question to the cokemen, and cross-examined them on it; and they said they had not done so as a union, but that it had been done by means of a Federation. Now, this Federation consists of the Durham Cokemen's Union and the Lancashire Cokemen's Union. In the Durham Cokemen's Union there are 4,000 members; in the Lancashire Cokemen's Union there are 500 or 600. The secretary, president, and treasurer of the Durham Cokemen's Union occupy the same positions in regard to the Federation. There is a committee of five that controls this Federation, of which three are members of the Durham Cokemen's Union; so that they are the predominant partner in anything that occurs in regard to this matter. That a union should do as a Federation what it would not take responsibility for as a union we regarded as the merest subterfuge. They say that if it was the union that was doing it they would condemn it; but, inasmuch as this is a Federation which is not affiliated to the Trades Union Congress, our Standing Orders have no reference to them. I think, however, that you will see clearly through all this; and, as far as Mr. Williams and myself are concerned, we are convinced that this Congress will not agree to any union acting in that way through a Federation in which they are the predominant partner. We find they had an organiser who went about inducing the members of the Amalgamated Union of Labour to leave that society and join what they called a branch of the Federation. This organiser is a branch secretary of the Durham Cokemen's Association, which supplied contribution books, and I think other books as well, for the purpose of assisting in the formation of the new society. At any rate, these officials of the Durham Cokemen's Association were the chief officials of the Federation, and had a controlling voice in its government, and they are the persons who ought to be considered distinctly responsible. We are of opinion that this form of defence is a paltry one to be advanced by Trade Unionists; for if their action is a bad one in principle we consider that they as Trade Unionists, and as the predominant partner in the Federation, ought to have seen that the action complained of was discontinued. Such a defence is an attempt to take advantage of a technicality. As members of the Parliamentary Committee appointed to make a faithful inquiry into these circumstances, we consider they were to blame, and that they ought to bear the costs of the investigation.

The PRESIDENT: You have heard the Report of the Parliamentary Committee and the explanation put forward by the cokemen. Seeing that the money has been promised, the resolution moved by Mr. Thomas is not necessary.

The Report of the Parliamentary Committee upon this question was agreed to.

CONCERNING AN OXFORD MEETING.

Mr. R. SMILLIE (Miners' Federation) wanted some explanation of the paragraph in Mr. Shackleton's report, as fraternal delegate from the Trades Union Congress to the General Federation of Trades Unions, concerning the reception by the Oxford section of the Joint Committee now considering how best to bring Oxford and the working-class organisations together.

The PRESIDENT explained that the invitation was issued to the General Federation delegates by the seven members representing Oxford on the Joint Committee of 14. The meeting had nothing to do with the Trades Union Congress, and he, as fraternal delegate, simply reported the fact that there had been an interesting gathering.

Mr. SMILLIE: Then I deny their right to have an advertisement in our Report, if they do not agree or mean to kill the Education programme of this Congress. I beg to move that this part of the Report be knocked out, as not being any portion of our business at all.

The PRESIDENT: We simply accepted an invitation by seven Oxford men, and there is no question about the Educational policy of this Congress.

Mr. J. SEXTON (Liverpool Dockers): May I ask Mr. Smillie, through you, what he means about the Education programme of this Congress?

The PRESIDENT: We cannot go into that. You will have your opportunity, Mr. Sexton, later on.

The proposition to delete the reference to the Oxford meeting was not pressed.

THE C.W.S. AND THE HOSIERY UNION.

Mr. J. HOLMES (Hosiery Federation) referred to the complaint of his union against a co-operative factory working under bad conditions of labour from which he alleged the Co-operative Wholesale Society bought goods for distribution in the co-operative movement. He said the information concerning the conditions was brought before the society in London, when the factory was struck off the list and they refused to buy from them. They brought the same case before the Special Committee, but they were unable to prove to the satisfaction of that committee that the Co-operative Wholesale Society had bought from the same factory after it had been tabooed by the London society. He only referred to the matter as showing their difficulty not only when dealing with employers of labour in the ordinary sense of the word, but also when dealing with workmen when they became employers of labour. It would be seen in the present case how difficult it was to prove a charge. The wages of the men in the factory were satisfactory, but the conditions under which they were earned were ignored.

THE C.W.S. AND THE CLOTHIERS' OPERATIVES.

Mr. J. YOUNG (Amalgamated Clothiers) desired to move:—

That this Congress condemns the action of the directors of the Co-operative Wholesale Society in refusing to carry out the decision of the Joint Board of Trade Unionists and Co-operators in connection with the matter coming from the Broughton Factory at Manchester belonging to the Co-operative Wholesale Society.

He said it was two months since the Joint Board met to deal with this case, as set out in the Parliamentary Committee's Report. They tried to enter into negotiations with the C.W.S. to bring them up to the level of other employers in Manchester. An interview was refused because it was stated that it would be useless. The Joint Board was then communicated with, as a means of avoiding a strike; and that body had a meeting in London to see if the clothiers had a good case. They found the case made out; and then Mr. Smith, the president of the Manchester Branch of the Tailors' Union, was discharged for giving evidence before the Joint Board. The man was discharged two months ago, and was still walking about. He was a good workman; but although, acting in the spirit of the award of the Joint Board, he had made formal application for reinstatement, the only satisfaction he got was an intimation from the manager that he might have had his job back if he had applied four or five days earlier.

Mr. G. SIMPSON (Radford Laceworkers) seconded the resolution.

The PRESIDENT: Mr. Young's statement is perfectly accurate. The Parliamentary Committee has done everything possible to get this matter settled before Congress assembled. We recognise the desirability of a good understanding between the Co-operative movement and the Trade Union movement. This decision, bear in mind, has been given by the representatives of both movements, and we think it rather hard that it should not be accepted by the Co-operative Wholesale Society. In the past the Trade Unions have always loyally accepted the findings of the Joint Board. Mr. Young is quite entitled to ask you to pass this resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION: LIVELY DEBATE.

Mr. R. DAVIES (Municipal Employés) moved the reference back for further consideration of that portion of the Joint Board's report which deals with the status of the Municipal Employés' Association. He contended that the resolution of the 1906 Congress, as recorded in the Report of the Congress proceedings, varied in a most important degree from the decision of the Joint Board given some time ago. To be logical, the Joint Board must adhere to the 1906 resolution. The question at issue was one of sectionalism. So far as the rules of the Municipal Employés' Association were concerned, they had been revised in compliance with the wishes of Congress. As he understood the 1906 resolution, it was intended to get all the unskilled men into one union. They did not object to that, and he would take that opportunity for thanking the Joint Board for lifting them out of the category of unions working against the Trade Union movement. They had, however, been placed in an invidious position by being mentioned in connection with the general resolution, and for that reason he moved the reference back. He was sorry to say that, although they had been lifted out of the awkward position they were in and had carried out the wishes of the Parliamentary Committee with reference to the opening of new branches, responsible men were still villifying their association up and down the country.

Mr. J. BAKER (National Enginemen) seconded the reference back.

Mr. J. T. JONES (Municipal Employés) said he was quite prepared to stand by the judgment of Congress upon the evidence as to whether the association had been guilty of the practises that were being charged against them. He complained of the unfairness of a certain Trade Union official's action in sending circulars to his Manchester office asking him to organise men for another union. He referred to the Tramway and Vehicular Workers' Union.

Mr. G. T. JACKSON (Tram and Vehicle Workers) contended that the decision of the Joint Board was the only logical conclusion that could have been arrived at. It was not so much the question of the organisation as the principle of the Trade Union movement that he was contending for. He claimed that when a society came into existence to make members at the expense of a national association the time had arrived when they should purge themselves of such a system, and that the Congress should say that it was not for the sake of finding official positions but for the strengthening of the workers' position generally that the Trade Union movement existed. The supporters of the Municipal Employés' Association claimed that every intention of that body was distinctly honest; but he declared the opposite to have been the case from the beginning. Not only had they tried to weaken the position of his own organisation, but they had also agreed to put the men into immediate benefit if they would only come into the Municipal Employés' Association. There were two societies catering for one class of workers.

Mr. PETE CURRAN, M.P. (National Gasworkers): I rise to support the decision of the Joint Board as it appears in the Parliamentary Committee's Report. When Mr. Davies appeared before the Joint Board he was examined with respect to the new rules which had been submitted as to what the future line of the association was likely to be in regard to municipal employés. He then stated the rules would provide that no skilled artisan would be appealed to, but that he would endeavour to organise municipal workers where they were not already organised. No great fault could be found with that statement. But one or two things have happened to prove that Mr. Davies has not quite consistently carried out the promise he gave to the Joint Board. Eight days ago he appeared at Southend, where the Gasworkers and General Labourers' Society has had 200 municipal employés organised for the

past two years. We have secured concessions for those men, and, as you will understand, a Corporation in a watering place like Southend is generally of a reactionary character. It has caused many a bitter struggle between us and the Corporation to secure those concessions. Mr. Davies appears upon the scene, and he frankly and deliberately stated, according to the Press reports, that he was there to organise the municipal employes of Southend. I will admit that he had a rough time; but during his stay he declared that there were some liars about. I will admit that also. When he was strongly pressed as to the names of the liars he said Pete Curran, M.P., was one. And he proceeded further. He declared that every statement I made at the Congress where the question arose was based upon deliberate falsehood. I submit that the presence of Mr. Davies at Southend justifies everything that was done by this Congress; and, in my judgment, Mr. Davies is pursuing the same policy as his predecessor. I want to point out that Mr. Davies promised not to interfere with workers who were already organised in a society. May I ask him, therefore, what took him to Southend, seeing that he knew that those men had been organised in the Gasworkers' Union for four years? The society to which I belong was naturally attacked at the very inception of the organisation for municipal employes, and from that day until now the best of our members have been Corporation workers. I say that this Municipal Employes' Association, coming into the field at a later stage, and endeavouring to poach upon an organisation that has spent thousands of pounds in securing important concessions, wants watching, and the Joint Board are going to watch it.

Mr. P. J. TEVENAN (Municipal Employes): I am much surprised at Mr. Pete Curran becoming touchy at the statement that there were liars about in Southend. Mr. Curran stated at the 1906 Congress that the organiser of the Municipal Employes' Association had attended at Huddersfield, and had intimidated members of the Town Council into helping them with the work of organising the municipal workers. He was asked to mention a name of one of those who had been intimidated, and he gave the name of Alderman Allen Gee, who is sitting now amongst us. We communicated with Mr. Gee, and he stated deliberately that he had never made such a statement. Mr. Curran used this with a good deal of force to get Congress to vote against us on that occasion. If there is an organisation represented at this Congress that has been guilty of more blacklegging than the Gasworkers' Union I would like to have it pointed out. It is rather late in the day for the Gasworkers to come here and ask Congress to whitewash it for its past misdeeds; and I am surprised that Mr. Curran should object to being put down as one of the liars. I challenge the statement made by Mr. Jackson that for the last fifteen months we have offered free passes to anyone to join our union. Mr. Jackson has issued matter of the most villainous character against our society. All we want is fair play, and this Congress ought to give it to us.

Mr. J. N. BELL (National Labour): Those who have listened to this discussion will agree that, whatever we may think about liars, there are some very clever special pleaders about. This is a question of principle, as to whether, notwithstanding that there are already other organisations in the field that have for years catered for municipal employes, a new organisation shall be allowed to come along, and, by confining itself to a special class of men who are never likely to come out of work or meet with accident, offer special facilities which could not be given otherwise. I am not concerned about the dispute between Mr. Curran and Mr. Davies. But I have a letter here that tells me that members of the Municipal Employes' Association are inducing members of my own union to leave us and go over to them. Names are given here of men who, as late as last July, were induced to leave our union because they were promised a free entrance. They are still pursuing the very tactics that we complained of, and I can see no other course but to support this decision of the Joint Board if Trade Unionism is to be protected from these piratical methods.

Mr. A. GEE (Textile Workers): My name has been dragged into this controversy without sufficient warrant. To the best of my recollection, one of the organisers of the Municipal Employes' Association called to see me—I do not know how long since, but certainly some years ago—and he stated that they were about to try and form a branch of their association in Huddersfield. I told him I was not prepared to try and organise any body of men working for the Corporation, when there was already a Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union, or a branch of that organisation in the

town. During the discussion a good deal was said about the influence which the Municipal Employés' Association might have upon local Labour representation; that they had a power which no other organisation possessed, namely, by using pressure at municipal elections upon the representatives of these Corporations. I stated then what I state now, that wherever the municipal employés are organised in any organisation it is neither the duty nor the right of any other organisation to step in and offer counter attractions. That is my position. Now, as to the "pressure" that is supposed to have been applied to me. Gentlemen, most of you are aware that when a man has been elected an Alderman of a Corporation the ordinary voter has very little influence over him. All he has got to do is to keep in with the representatives who are already in the Corporation, and his seat is secure and safe. Mr. A. Taylor wrote to me as follows: "I am very much surprised to read in the paper Mr. Curran's statement in the Congress last Friday to the effect that one of our organisers had called upon you and said you would have to assist us to get the gasworkers in the town to leave the Gasworkers' Union." Gentlemen, I could not make such a statement, nor would I, either for one man or for the whole body of this Congress. My letter in reply says: "I have never at any time made a statement about your organisers such as the one you allude to in your letter of the 10th September as having been made by my friend Mr. Curran; and I think he must have been misinformed by some other person." Mr. Curran will tell you that I never made such a statement to him or to any other member of his organisation. So far as I am concerned, I stand by the findings of the Joint Board. An organisation which seeks to divide workmen in any occupation is doing no good to the Trade Union cause.

The PRESIDENT: May I appeal to Congress to come to a decision upon this matter?

Mr. R. DAVIES (Municipal Employés), replying to the discussion, said the promise given to the Joint Board on behalf of his association was that they would not interfere in a town where the men had a fair representation in any organisation that was able to be effective for their welfare. They had had invitations to go to Birmingham to open branches, but had refrained at the request of the Parliamentary Committee. If Mr. Curran could prove to him that he had 35 employés of the Corporation of Southend in his society, he would at once do his best to withdraw those who were in the Municipal Employés' Association. He had told Congress that he had got 200 of them in his union; but they had been told by members of Mr. Curran's own union that there were not thirty. With reference to the question of free entrances, he read a letter from the assistant secretary of the Gasworkers' Union which had been sent to one of the Municipal Employés' branches, as follows: "Dear Sir and Brother,—With reference to the branch of the Municipal Union, I may say what we have done in days gone by when a branch wishes to transfer to us has been that we have placed them on our books at 8d. each. The ordinary shilling entrance fee is therefore dispensed with; and it is usual for us to place them on full benefit at once. If you will let me know where it is that this particular branch holds its meetings, we might be able to arrange for someone to pay a visit to them and give an address to the members themselves." That was the policy of the Gasworkers, which was actually bringing charges against the Municipal Employés' Association! He begged formally to withdraw the resolution, with the approval of the seconder.

The PRESIDENT: You must have the approval of Congress to the withdrawal.

Congress declined to allow the withdrawal of the motion to refer the matter back for further consideration; and upon a show of hands it was defeated by a large majority, only some seven delegates voting in its favour.

The Report of the Parliamentary Committee was then adopted as a whole.

THE AUDITORS' REPORT.

Mr. S. H. WHITEHOUSE (Auditor) said he and his fellow Auditor had very carefully examined the various items of the balance sheet of Congress, and they were correctly stated. The books were kept in a very admirable manner indeed.

Mr. WALTER GEE (Auditor) corroborated the statement of his colleague, and declared that all the vouchers and receipts had been scrutinised.

The Auditors' Report was agreed to.

CONGRESS REPORTS NOT PAID FOR.

The PRESIDENT: I have a rather regrettable duty to perform. We have a number of societies who owe for their last year's Reports, and I think when they get the goods they ought to pay for them. We have managed to get two of the unions to pay recently, but there are still half-a-dozen societies who owe for their Reports. We hope they will pay their bills for goods received.

THE CHARGES FOR DEATH CERTIFICATES.

Mr. J. ANDERSON (Stevedores) moved:—

This Congress re-affirms the resolution of last year *re* charges for death certificates. He said they had now reached a stage where they had got the Home Secretary to promise to facilitate the passing of a Bill for the removal of the grievance about which they had complained so long. In view of the fact, he thought they should re-affirm their previous decisions in order to strengthen the hands of Mr. Gill in introducing a Bill into Parliament.

Mr. J. BAKER (National Enginemen) formally seconded the resolution, which was agreed to.

THE COMPETITION OF ARMY AND NAVY BANDS.

Mr. J. B. WILLIAMS (Musicians) moved:—

That this Congress reaffirms the condemnation of the action of the Government in allowing Army and Navy bandmen to compete with civilian musicians, and instructs the Parliamentary Committee to render every assistance to the Musicians' Union to put an end to the competition of Army and Navy bandmen against civilian musicians, a great many of whom through this competition are thrown out of employment and deprived of their means of livelihood.

He stated that at the Franco-British Exhibition the 7th Hussars Band played twice daily, and he had the authority of the bandmaster for the fact that for this special engagement he paid one of the men only 27s. per week. Now, an arbitrator had decided recently that the minimum of any musician should be 30s. per week for playing once in the day; and if he were paid extra for afternoon performances he would receive 50s. Thus they had one department fixing the rate of the minimum wage and another department competing with the musicians and playing for a lesser sum. The soldier bandsman, for his part, had no voice in determining the amount of money he was to receive. They had had cases where the army band would receive £5 for playing at a garden party. A portion of that amount would go to the band's fund, and the bandmaster, who is the Lord High Priest of the engagement, would take what he thought fit. Then the sergeant would come in for a better portion of the remuneration than the private, and some of the youngsters would probably have to be content with a bun. Unfortunately, none of the members of the Musicians' Union was able to live upon buns, and Congress could see that such competition was unfair. The whole of the national unions in Spain, France, Germany, and Italy connected with the musicians were fighting this question, and he appealed to the good sense and sympathy of the delegates to support the proposal before them.

Mr. W. JOHNSON (Theatrical Employés) seconded the resolution, which was agreed to.

THE COMPETITION OF POLICE BANDSMEN.

Mr. J. B. WILLIAMS (Musicians) moved:—

That this Congress condemns the practice of allowing police bandsmen to enter into competition with civilian musicians, as such competition deprives the civilian musician of his means of livelihood; and, seeing that the police regulations forbid policemen from entering into competition with civilians, this Congress considers that civilian musicians should be equally protected with other civilians.

He said the regulations in regard to the police force prevented constables from entering into competition with civilian bandsmen, but some chief constables had a most remarkable way of arguing. When, in the case of Liverpool, it was pointed out that the police band was competing with the civilians at so low a charge that the latter could not get a living out of such prices, it was argued that there could not be any competition because there was so little charge made for the services rendered.

Mr. J. SEXTON (Liverpool Dockers) seconded the resolution, which was agreed to.

Congress adjourned for luncheon.

AFTERNOON SITTING.

TRADE UNION HALL FOR LONDON WANTED.

Mr. S. MARCH (London Carmen) moved :—

That this Congress resolves the time has arrived when a Trade Union Hall should be established in London, and hereby instructs its Parliamentary Committee to take the matter into consideration, with a view to finding out what support or assistance can be relied upon by the different societies in the event of a suitable building or site being obtained for such purposes.

He said his society was of opinion that the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress ought to have a hall of its own for more reasons than one. In London, at present, if they wanted a hall they practically had to go to their enemies with cap in hand and beg for it; and they were often put to great inconvenience. And when they applied for offices they had to submit to all kinds of vexatious regulations, besides paying a heavy rent. Moreover, delegates from the provinces and from foreign countries could get better accommodation in their own hall than elsewhere.

Mr. WILL GODFREY (Carmen's Union) seconded the resolution; and he pointed out, in anticipation of the argument of those who might think London was very well able to build its own hall without assistance from the provinces, that London was the central city of the kingdom, and deserved to be honoured in this special way.

The PRESIDENT: Is this a question for the Parliamentary Committee or the trades of London? In what capacity can the Parliamentary Committee act in building a trades hall for London? We have sufficient national work to do without being called upon to do something for London alone. If they desire it the Trade Unionists of London are quite strong enough to bring this about for themselves.

Mr. J. TEMPLETON (Scottish Typographical Association): We have had a Trade Union Hall in Aberdeen for 20 years; but it was bought with local money, and that is the only way it can be carried out. I hope Congress will unanimously disapprove of this resolution.

Mr. J. CROSS (Accrington Weavers): The London men have made out a very bad case indeed. They want a hall, but they want Congress to be saddled with the cost of it. The application should be refused.

The resolution was lost by a large majority.

DIRECT EMPLOYMENT OF MAIL DRIVERS.

Mr. S. MARCH (London Carmen) moved :—

That this Congress approves the system of direct employment in all Government Departments wherever practicable, and sees no reason why all mail and parcel post drivers should not be employed and paid direct by the Department they work for, as they are under the supervision of Government officials, and being paid by contractors at present makes their conditions of labour very unsatisfactory in many ways; and instructs its Parliamentary Committee to bring this matter before the Department concerned, with a view to this class of men being engaged and paid direct by the Government.

He pointed out how extremely inconvenient it was for the drivers to be working for contractors and for the Government at the same time. The men were first of all engaged by the contractors, and had to submit to the conditions they laid down; but as soon as they left the contractor's yard they came under the control of the Post Office officials, and were compelled to do their bidding. The driver must not leave his vehicle

at any particular place without the consent of the Post Office officials until his work was finished.

Mr. A. GRUNDY (Bolton Carters) seconded the resolution.

Mr. WILL GODFREY (London Carmen) desired to thank Mr. Steadman, as Secretary to the Parliamentary Committee, for helping to get the excellent award from Mr. Sydney Buxton which gave an increase in wages to the London carmen up to 30s. per week for Post Office work. They had secured the guarantee for a complete week's work and a complete uniform for the men. But although they had got the award the contractors were doing all they could to evade it. He hoped, therefore, that the Parliamentary Committee would do all they could to ensure that these men should be directly employed by the Post Office, and no longer have their wages filched from them by the contractors.

The resolution was agreed to.

INDUSTRIAL LIFE ASSURANCE.

Mr. D. JONES (Prudential Assurance Agents) moved :—

That this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress to take steps forthwith to bring pressure on the President of the Board of Trade, as well as on the Treasury, to secure the appointment through the Government of a Royal Commission, or of a Parliamentary Committee, to inquire into the whole field of industrial life assurance, including the methods and practices of industrial life assurance companies to obtain new business, the employment of the irresponsible canvasser, the question of insurable interest, as well as the terms and conditions of employment imposed upon the 40,000 industrial life assurance agents and collectors, with a view to securing immediate legislative reform in the matter of insurable interest, the abolition of the irresponsible canvasser, and for securing greater protection to the insuring public, as well as to the industrial life assurance agents and collectors.

He observed that the resolution had already been adopted by Congress on previous occasions. Last February, through the kind offices of the Parliamentary Committee, he was able to be present at a deputation interview with the Home Secretary, when he discussed the question of industrial assurance. His statements on that occasion were so serious that Mr. Gladstone rather preferred him to withdraw them or repeat them outside. He now repeated the statement that over one-half of the industrial policies issued throughout the country were absolutely illegal. The companies and societies only met the claims because it paid them to do so. In England every year £30,000,000 was paid in industrial premiums. The Home Secretary had evidently thought the statements he had made were exaggerated; but since then the President of the Board of Trade and the Registrar-General of Friendly Societies had each issued a circular letter to every Friendly Society and Industrial Insurance Company in the country; and yet the only thing they asked was that these societies should instruct their officials to observe the law as to insurable interest and avoid speculative insurance. Those circulars, however, were in the waste paper basket by this time.

Mr. A. E. KIRKPATRICK (Royal Liver Agents) seconded the resolution. He said it was an anomaly that a son or daughter, who might be compelled to contribute towards their parents' support, should not be allowed to insure them. A workingman himself, he knew that at the end of the week, by the time he had paid his club and other dues he had very little money left, and if his parents died he would have very little to bury them with. This matter was governed by an Act passed in the reign of George III. some 140 years ago; and it was time that the law was amended.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

TO AMEND PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE.

Mr. W. B. CHARLTON (Engine and Boilermen) moved :—

That the Parliamentary Committee be urged to bring continual pressure on the Government of the day, through the Labour M.P.'s, to substitute for the wanton and wicked waste of time and money by the operation known as the 'slaughter of the innocents,' a new procedure of business which will compulsorily carry private members' measures from stage to stage and session to session until either placed on the Statute Book or rejected. The only exception to be a dissolution of Parliament.

He regretted that the Parliamentary Committee's Report had contained no reference to this matter, seeing that a similar instruction to the one he was proposing had been

unanimously passed at the preceding Congress. As to whether an amendment of Parliamentary procedure on the lines indicated was desirable or not was sufficiently indicated by the fact that for twenty-five years his society had been promoting a Bill, which many years ago was regarded as one of the hardy annuals of the Congress year. Now it had been put back into some unseen corner of the garden, and no one knew whether it would ever reach maturity. Five times it had passed its second reading, but, because Parliament had closed without any further step being taken, they would have to begin all over again in the new Parliament. That was unnecessary waste of time, and they believed the time was never so opportune as now for making an attempt to change the procedure of Parliament.

The PRESIDENT: We are fully in accord with this resolution. It is not a matter that has been before the Parliamentary Committee. The Labour Members in the House appreciate the importance of this recommendation; and it is in their meetings where the matter is being considered, and it is one of the questions down for their consideration in the future.

IN FAVOUR OF A REGULAR AUTUMN SESSION.

Mr. C. F. DAVIS (London Compositors) moved the following amendment:—

That the Parliamentary Committee be urged to bring continual pressure on the Government of the day, through the Labour M.P.'s, to introduce a new procedure of business which will enable private members' measures to be carried from stage to stage and session to session until either placed on the Statute Book or rejected (subject only to a dissolution of Parliament), and which will provide for a regular Autumn Session of Parliament.

He thought the procedure of Parliament had improved very little during the past century. The same antiquated methods were in vogue to-day that were in vogue a couple of centuries ago. The reason was not far to seek. Until quite recently the House of Commons had been monopolised by the gentlemen of England; and not only were they in no hurry for legislation, but to a very large extent insisted on keeping back legislation, especially if it was likely to interfere with their class prerogative. They had had complaints over and over again that the reason they could get nothing done was because of the cumbrous methods prevailing in the House. If they wanted to know the best way not to do a thing, they could not do better than go to the House of Commons for inspiration. If they were ever going to have anything like effective democratic Government, the present state of things would have to be altered; and it was about time that the Labour Members brought all the pressure they could upon the House of Commons. He thought Parliament ought to sit all the year round; and at least an Autumn Session ought to be made a permanent feature of the Parliamentary year.

Mr. H. W. HOBART (London Compositors) seconded the amendment, and expressed regret that the enginemen had not seen their way to accept the offer they had made to them. It might be, however, that their motive for suggesting this slight alteration to the resolution was not thoroughly understood. It was, of course, a demand for an Autumn Session, because they thought that there would then be some chance of helping forward the solution of the unemployed problem. It would, at any rate, find more work for the London Society of Compositors. Although in one sense it might be disadvantageous, they asked for a permanent Autumn Session because they thought that work must be found. In this age of lightning and motor-cars there was an urgent need for the Government always to be upon the spot to legislate for sudden emergencies. While in Nottingham men and women were starving, the Government and the other Members of Parliament were enjoying themselves.

Mr. J. H. WILSON, M.P. (Sailors' Union): I rise to support the resolution. We have listened to a lot of absolute nonsense, and it is about time we spoke our mind upon this subject. A delegate says there ought to be an Autumn Session every year.

Mr. C. F. DAVIS (London Compositors): Hear, hear!

Mr. J. H. WILSON, M.P.: Then he cannot understand the procedure of Parliament. The Parliamentary draughtsmen are engaged three months in drafting Bills; and the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General are in consultation with those gentlemen all the time. Now, if Parliament is going to sit for the whole of the year, how are the principal Law Officers going to be in attendance upon the House of

Commons while they have to be in attendance upon the Parliamentary draughtsmen? In the beginning of the Session there is very often considerable delay in getting the Bills forward, because the draughtsmen and the Law Officers of the Crown have not had an opportunity for providing a Bill. Preparing a Bill is not preparing a Bill for this Congress; you get down to a different sort of business altogether. I sympathise with our friends the enginemen in the gallant efforts they have made on behalf of their Bill; but remember that the miners of this country have been struggling for twenty years to get their Bill through. I don't think Charlton has been so long as that. I have been twenty-five years getting reforms through for the seamen and firemen, and twenty-nine years getting them included in the Employers' Liability Act. But do not let us talk nonsense about a House of Commons sitting the whole of the year, when there would be practically nothing for them to do for one-fourth of the time, because the bulk of the work of the House of Commons is done outside the Chamber by the Law Officers of the Crown.

Mr. BEN TURNER (Batley Weavers): I support the amendment. It is nothing for Parliament to waste three months of the year in talking round subjects. In the first place, Parliament is not the place for the members to make their wishes known, but for the Government to put their programme forward. The whole system wants to be turned round, and the Parliament should be governed by the members and not by the Government. Mr. Wilson says it is nonsense to talk about having Parliament open in the autumn, because the Parliamentary draughtsmen have only three months in which to draft the Bills, and he alludes to the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General; but I think it is well within the recollection of this Congress that both these men are receiving heavy fees for private work. There are many K.C.'s and other barristers who would be only too pleased to draft Bills for Parliament. Nor have I heard that either the Attorney-General or the Solicitor-General has been greatly overworked or particularly skilled in such work as they have done. I think Parliament should alter its tactics by talking less and doing more.

Mr. W. B. CHARLTON (Engine and Boilermen), in reply, declared that his friends thought the amendment ought to be submitted as a separate question, and not connected with the resolution. He thought there was a reasonableness in the proposition, but it was asking for a good deal to talk about a permanent Autumn Session.

The amendment in favour of a permanent Autumn Session was lost, and the proposal for the modification of Parliamentary procedure was carried.

UNHEALTHY RAILWAY OFFICES.

Mr. A. G. WALKDEN (Railway Clerks) moved:—

That this Congress is of opinion that all railway offices should be brought within the scope of the Factory Acts, and hereby instructs the Parliamentary Committee to take steps to secure legislation accordingly.

He said the amendment of the National Union of Clerks had been accepted, so that the words "and places in which clerks have to work" must be read after the word "offices" in the resolution. In that way the recommendation was made to apply to the whole army of clerks, whether engaged upon railways or elsewhere. He described some of the offices in which the railway clerk has to work as unfit for the occupation of human beings. In some instances the number of men at work in the offices was two or three times in excess of the number permitted under the Factory Acts. They had done their best to help themselves, but had got no satisfaction. They were told that the improvements demanded were impracticable, but the real reason for the delay was that the reform would cost money. Under the circumstances, perhaps it was not surprising to hear, on the authority of the medical experts, that clerks were more subject to consumption than any other class of workmen.

Mr. H. H. ELVIN (National Clerks) seconded the resolution, and quoted statistics from a medical report to show the high mortality from consumption that prevailed among clerks. There could be no doubt whatever that the chief cause for the deplorable state of affairs was the fact that clerks in London and elsewhere had to work in cellars, where the sun never penetrated, and where artificial light was burning all day long. In some cases the sanitary conveniences were placed at the end of the office, and two clerks or more had to work near them all day long. More

than 50 per cent. of the clerks who died of lung disease died between the ages of 20 and 35; so that in the pride of his manhood the clerk was driven off the face of the earth by this scourge.

Mr. A. E. CHANDLER (Railway Clerks) said he realised that the Factory Acts had their limitations. They had failed to abolish sweating and other evils; but, given proper inspection—and too much emphasis could not be laid upon that point—the application of the Factory Acts to clerical offices ought to mitigate the trouble of which they complained.

The resolution was agreed to.

UNPAID SUNDAY DUTY ON RAILWAYS.

Mr. A. G. WALKDEN (Railway Clerks) moved:—

That this Congress condemns the practice in vogue on many railways of compelling stationmasters, clerks, and other employes to work on Sundays without payment or equivalent time off, and instructs the Parliamentary Committee to appeal to the House of Commons by a resolution to regard no Bill as satisfactory which seeks to confer increased powers upon any railway company that does not pay extra to all of its employes who are required to perform duty on Sundays.

He thought they were fully entitled to make this request to Congress. On returning from luncheon they found a leaflet saying "Rest and let rest on the Rest Day." That was just what the railway companies would not allow them to do. On the Caledonian and North British Railways nine clerks had been dismissed from one office in Glasgow, while at the same time the men were being worked seven days per week. On the Cheshire line a score of clerks had been dismissed; and on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway the same thing was going on. They had a considerable number of members on the books of the Railway Clerks' Association drawing out-of-work pay, so that it was quite clear that dismissals were taking place. All the men who had been dismissed could have been kept on if they had been working on a six-day week basis.

Mr. A. E. CHANDLER (Railway Clerks), in seconding the resolution, complained that the men with whom he was connected only received one-third of the wealth they created.

Mr. J. B. STEVENS (Tin and Iron Plate Workers) said the question of Sunday labour obviously had an important bearing upon the unemployed problem.

The resolution was carried without opposition.

TO RESTRICT SUNDAY LABOUR.

Mr. S. FISHER (Cardiff Coal Trimmers) moved:—

This Congress, recognising as it does the great benefits which have accrued in the past to the workers of the nation in consequence of the almost universal observance of the Sunday as a weekly day of rest, resolves to do all in its power to restrict Sunday labour in the future to the narrowest possible limits consistent with humane requirements and the necessities of the age.

They were told, he said, that Labour leaders had as much right to preach their gospel on the Sunday as ministers had to preach theirs. Of course they had; but if Sunday labour increased very much more the Labour men would have no audiences to speak to, and Brother Thorne and the rest of them would have to join the ranks of the unemployed. That would indeed be a sorry sight! The Sabbath Rest Day had been a great blessing to the toiling masses, and they should do their best to preserve it. It was said that they wanted to shut down everything on the Sunday; but that was impossible. They were not such fools as to believe they could do that; but they did want to restrict it to the smallest possible limit. They did not wish to see it increased until they had the seven-day week thrust upon them. It seemed to him that while the Continent was coming up to our standard, we were inclined to let the matter slip.

Mr. J. HODGE, M.P. (Steel Smelters), seconded the resolution as the representative of a trade that was cursed with Sunday labour. He was of opinion that if Sunday labour were curtailed it would be a good thing for the country at large.

Mr. W. HARVEY, M.P. (Miners' Federation), supported the resolution. He recognised that the Sabbath, which many of them were taught to regard as a day of rest, was being lost to the workingmen of this country. He had been on the continent more than once, and he had seen men and women scavenging the streets on the Sunday, and the bricklayers and their labourers hard at work also. He knew that many people thought they were "going continental," but if he stood alone in Congress he should say "God forbid!" It was bad for this or any other nation that men should be called on to work more than six days in any one week. There was plenty of enterprise and progress in the commercial world to-day to satisfy all needs without imposing upon workingmen the necessity for seven days' toil each week. But was the workingman himself entirely free from blame? There were too many fishing expeditions and railway trips on the Sunday. After all, whatever people might think, there were the old truths and the old landmarks. Sunday was not a man-given day. It was ordained by the Creator for them all. That idea might be somewhat out of date, but he could not help feeling that the strength of the family life lay in keeping the commands of the Creator. Men ought to have their recreations, but they should be confined to the week-days. Sunday was a day for rest and recuperation, for building up the physical system.

Mr. G. H. ROBERTS, M.P. (Typographical Association), said he believed in one day's rest in seven. He went further, and declared that the limitation of the working week to 48 hours was the surest way to guarantee men a full day's rest. Mr. Harvey thought Sunday trips were wrong, but that was very often the only opportunity that many workmen possessed of becoming acquainted, with their wives and their families, with the beauties of nature. He stood second to no one in his appreciation of the religious spirit, but he contended that some of them could get as near to the Godlike in a lane on Sunday as in a church. In so far as the resolution sought to restrict Sunday labour he was with it, because he recognised the desirability of restricting the working hours of the people; but if they were going to have a resolution simply on the Sabbatarian standard he was against it. A number of the members of the printing trade were compelled to work on Sunday in order to produce the newspapers that were read on the Monday. He contemplated that those men were no worse morally because they had to work on what was called the Sabbath Day.

Mr. R. R. MILLARD (Postal Clerks) supported the resolution, and said he was fully satisfied that in this country there was a marked tendency to take from working men the free-from-labour Sunday. This was very noticeable with respect to the activities of the postal service, and working men themselves were most inclined to accentuate the evil by demanding Sunday facilities. Was it not singular that while there was no postal delivery in London on the Sunday, the smallest village in the country had its Sunday delivery? Here was a splendid opportunity for every one who was really in earnest with respect to this Sunday question. Let them try to get the provincial postal delivery abolished.

Mr. C. FREAK (Boot and Shoe Operatives) said he gave place to no one in his admiration for the Sabbath, and there was no doubt that if it were enacted that every man must have one day's rest in seven the great majority would choose Sunday. But what was rest? Was it sitting in the house and drinking the whiskey obtained over night? Was it rest to loll about in the parks? Real rest was change of occupation. They wanted to be able to utilise the day in such a way as to benefit their lives. But it was necessary that trams and trains should run on Sunday, and food and drink should be obtainable. Those people who had to work on Sunday in order to provide those conveniences should be sure of a rest on some other day in the week.

The resolution was carried by a large majority.

THE OVERLAPPING OF CONFERENCES.

Mr. J. A. SEDDON, M.P. (Shop Assistants), moved :—

This Congress deploras the waste of time and money involved in having three Conferences in connection with the Labour movement, and instructs the Parliamentary Committee to approach the Executive Committees of the Labour Party and the General Federation of Trade Unions with a view to securing the appointment of a Special Committee to consider and report on the possibility of amalgamation.

He said he noticed that the London *Daily Express* seemed to have lost its infinitesimal head over this small resolution. It saw behind it a very great design on the part of his society. Well, he thought those who were familiar with the "Daily Punch"—with apologies to the weekly edition!—would not be surprised. He thought a committee would do no harm; for they had had the experience that there were some unions which had already come to a decision upon the resolution. They must all regret the absence of the Engineers; and he thought their absence was due to the feeling that the money was not being wisely spent. He knew that some people thought there was still work for the Trades Union Congress to do; and that view would not be prejudiced by the appointment of a committee. He asked the delegates not to be led away by the first part of the resolution, which seemed to prejudice the question; but to have an open mind as to whether there should only be one Congress for the Labour movement.

Mr. A. GOULD (Carpenters and Joiners) seconded the resolution. For many years his union had tried to get upon the agenda a resolution with a view to discussing the utility of the continuation of the Trades Union Congress as a body. Now that they had Labour representation in Parliament, and were no longer obliged to go cap in hand to Ministers, many of the trades felt that the time was ripe for the dissolution of the Congress. If the course proposed by the shop assistants was not taken, there were other unions that would withdraw in time. He had a right to ask the delegates seriously to consider whether the property class would take much notice of their resolutions upon the unemployed question when they took into consideration the fact that as the week went on the time of Congress was curtailed, and no opportunity was given adequately to discuss the question, in order that excursions and the like might be indulged in.

Mr. A. G. CAMERON (Carpenters and Joiners) said there was undoubtedly some dissatisfaction at the present state of things. They believed that Congress had done its work, and done it well; but a good deal of time and money was now being wasted. They were discussing resolutions which would be discussed by the other body, and they believed that the work would be covered by that Congress. This Congress could meet three days in the week, and the other Congress on the three other days.

Mr. F. BOWER (Stonemasons): The rank and file, who do not get here, and the thinking men, who do not speak in the Congress, are beginning to feel that something ought to be done. My point is that if there is no use for this body we had better get rid of it. But I think there is a use for it. The political machine was a destructive machine, and the Trade Union machine should be constructive. They ought to support the resolution for a joint inquiry.

Mr. J. W. DAVIS (Brass Workers): The arguments we are hearing now, I heard 30 years ago as to the Congress being played out. Surely, those who have read the history of Congress cannot forget that Mr. George Howell resigned his secretaryship because he thought the Congress was played out, since which time it has done a great deal of work, and will do a great deal more. The Congress through the years does not decline, nor do its funds; and if you appointed this committee you would find that there would be a great deal of overlapping and a great deal of contention as to what is the business of the separate Congresses. One section would demand that this is a question that they must consider, and that Congress must not touch. On the other hand, the representatives of the Trades Union Congress hold that any question of public importance has the right to be discussed at the Congress. I strongly oppose the resolution.

Mr. T. MALLALIEU (Felt Hat Makers) said he had reviewed the Agenda of Congress, and found that out of the 99 propositions submitted to the Congress no less than 71 were instructions as to legislation, and 20 others instructions to the Parliamentary Committee to take action with Government Departments. To his mind, the two Congresses of the Parliamentary Committee and the Labour Party were engaged upon the same work; and no harm could come of the consideration of the question by a Joint Committee.

Mr. J. GRIBBLE (Boot and Shoe Operatives) thought it was regrettable that they had allowed the two other bodies to come into being; and he believed that by the position being placed fully before a committee there was a possibility of getting back to the old position again. He thought the holding of the Congress of the General

Federation of Trades was a complete waste of money; and he contended that the work of the Federation could very well be carried on by the Trades Union Congress. The Federation Congress was simply a matter of having ice-cream in one place and bread-and-butter in another. Every one had made up his mind at the Oxford gathering this year that there was little or nothing to do, and that they were going to have a good old time of it.

Mr. T. SHAW (Northern Weavers): It would be very well to proceed upon the lines suggested if the organisations concerned were alike, but they are not. It seems to be overlooked that this is the only body that focusses the Trade Union opinion upon industrial questions; and if this body gives up that privilege it will have no opportunity of expressing itself nationally. That will only be possible in the case of the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society. I am a member of the I.L.P. myself, but I do protest against any resolution which in effect will take away from the Trade Unionists in this country nationally the opportunity of focussing their opinions on vital questions affecting the working classes.

The resolution was rejected by a large majority.

A DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR WANTED.

Mr. BEN TILLET (London Dockers) moved:—

This Congress, in view of the fact that the industrial classes constitute a majority of the nation, calls upon the Parliamentary Committee to formulate a Bill enacting the formation of a Department of Labour, with a responsible Minister invested with Cabinet rank, with authority to deal with matters affecting the industrial necessities of the workers' conditions of employment, wages, protection of life and health, and efficient inspection under workshops and factories, and general labour conditions.

He said they had lived to see the establishment of a Labour Department, but at the present moment the Parliamentary members of their party and the Labour unions generally had to go to two or three sources for their information and their appeal. The Board of Admiralty, the Board of Trade, the Local Government Board, and the Home Office, all had to be appealed to separately upon different matters. That meant confusion and overlapping, and some of the Departments were jealous of each other. He had known the Board of Trade Department to be very jealous of the Home Secretary's Department; and it was not always that the Trade Union officials knew where to go. He would like to see Labour recognised by one direct head of Cabinet rank.

Mr. J. A. SEDDON, M.P. (Shop Assistants), seconded the resolution. He did not deny that Cabinet Ministers sympathised with the desires of Labour, but the multitude of their duties prevented them from giving Labour matters their fair share of attention. So far as they in the House of Commons were concerned they sometimes were in considerable doubt as to the proper source to apply to for the desired information.

The resolution was carried.

THE REGISTRATION OF TRADE UNION LABELS.

Mr. BEN COOPER moved:—

That as there is a difference of opinion in the legal profession as to the section of the Act under which Trade Union labels should be registered to become the exclusive property of the organisation registering, the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to prepare a Bill to definitely determine the conditions under which such labels shall be registered.

Having spoken of the importance of the label to the American Trade Union movement, he reminded the delegates that his own union had a label, and that it had been registered and successfully kept from those manufacturers who wished to copy it. But the label was registered as a book, and the Stationers Hall authorities were divided as to whether it should be registered as a book or as a design. He was not concerned as to that, but he was concerned at the possibility of spending large sums of money for labels that might not be adequately protected.

Mr. T. MALLALIEU (Felt Hat Makers) seconded, and stated that his society was the first in Great Britain to adopt the principle of a Trade Union label. Like the

cigar makers, they submitted it to Stationers Hall, and it was registered as a book. They afterwards took the precaution of re-registering the label as a design. A number of societies were considering the question of the Trade Union label; and two or three of them had decided to adopt them. Congress should, therefore, do something to make the position perfectly clear, so that the labels might be adequately protected.

The resolution was agreed to.

ELIGIBILITY OF COMMITTEEMEN.

Mr. A. EVANS (Printers' Warehousemen) moved :—

That no member of the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions or the Executive Committee of the Labour Party shall be eligible for the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress.

If there were going to be three distinct conferences, he said, there should be three distinct sets of officials. That was the only way to get the work done effectively. There was too much of men holding two or three positions, and going up and down the country trying to do more work than they were able to do. Many of the committeemen were officers in their own societies, and it was impossible for them to do the whole of their work well. They should stand on one side, and let the work go round.

Mr. J. TURNER (Shop Assistants) seconded, and said it was hardly to be expected, under the existing circumstances, that the necessary criticism would be brought to bear upon the executives.

The resolution was carried amid cheers.

ELECTORAL REFORM.

Mr. A. H. GILL, M.P. (Parliamentary Committee), moved :—

That this Congress welcomes the announcement of the Prime Minister of the intention of the Government to introduce a measure of electoral reform on democratic lines, and we further declare that no Bill will be satisfactory which does not provide for—

- (a) A reduction of the qualifying period by which electors may be placed on the register to at least three months;
- (b) The appointment of a Registrar, whose duty it shall be to see that all duly qualified voters are placed upon the register;
- (c) The payment of the Returning Officer's expenses by the State;
- (d) The payment of Members of Parliament by the State;
- (e) The holding of all General Elections on one and the same day;
- (f) The amendment of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Acts in the direction of greater stringency;
- (g) The extension of the franchise to all adults, male and female;
- (h) A more equitable distribution of seats;
- (i) The abolition of plural voting and University representation.

ADDENDUM.

And, in view of the complete failure of the second ballots in Germany and Austria to secure the just representation of political forces, in view of their universal condemnation in France, and in view of their abandonment in Belgium, this Conference calls upon the Government to institute an inquiry into methods of proportional representation or second ballots, so that the most effective means of securing the true representation of the electors may be embodied in the new Reform Bill.

He said : This resolution embodies a large number of points, and is likely to become operative during the next few years. A short time ago the Prime Minister declared that a measure of electoral reform would be passed next year, and the Parliamentary Committee thought the Congress should express their views upon the subject. We certainly think there should be a reduction of the qualifying period. In the case of removal, a man may be living in a place eighteen months and yet not be able to go upon the list. It ought to be as easy to get upon the Parliamentary register as it is to get upon the rate book. Consequently, we think the longest period should be three months. With regard to the appointment of the Registrar, we find this is left very largely to the election agents; and they look

upon it as part of their duty to get as many people as possible off the register. The opposite ought to be the case, and it should be the duty of the State to see to it that officials are appointed who, under penalty, make it their business to see that every one entitled to the franchise is placed upon the register. Then there is the difficulty of men getting into Parliament. It is true that during the last General Election a number of Labour members were returned to Parliament, but only at great expense to the Trade Unions; and the expenses in respect to the Returning Officer's fees should be borne by the State, so that the poor man is not kept back. As to the payment of members, it is clearly impossible for working men to go to the House of Commons and spend all their time there without an allowance. If work is worth doing at all, it is worth paying for. With regard to the clause in the resolution demanding that the General Election should be held all over the kingdom on one particular day, the advantage of such a system must be evident if it be remembered that at present something like eight days are occupied in ascertaining the will of the people; and that enables wealthy people to exercise the whole of their votes. I think, too, that it would be to the advantage of the community if all public-houses were closed on the election day. Further, all must agree that there is need for an amendment of the Corrupt Practices Act. The amount of money a candidate may spend is fixed by law; but we have seen, during the different bye-elections, that the Coal Consumers' League have been organising and spending money for the defeat of the Miners' Eight Hours Bill; and the Tariff Reform League has been intervening in the same way. By this means the amount of the candidate's expenses is made much heavier than is permitted under the law. In regard to the redistribution of seats, it is manifestly inequitable that a constituency of a few thousand electors should have the same number of members as a constituency with 20,000 electors, as is the case at present. As to the last clause of the resolution, I have never been able to see why a man should be given a vote simply because he has passed through a university. We generally find that the Members of Parliament who have come into the House of Commons as university representatives are certainly not in favour of working-class legislation.

Mr. D. C. CUMMINGS (Boilermakers) seconded, and laid stress upon the serious nature of the expenses connected with the election of Members of Parliament, and the pressing need for the amendment of the Corrupt Practices Act.

The resolution was carried unanimously; and

The Congress adjourned.

THIRD DAY.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9th.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 9-30, and the minutes of the previous day's proceedings were read and confirmed.

BLACKLEGS IN FOREIGN LABOUR DISPUTES.

Mr. J. SEXTON (on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee) moved:—

This Congress expresses its severest censure upon those Britishers who have thought proper to engage themselves to cosmopolitan syndicates to interfere in foreign Labour disputes, believing that such action is purposely adopted by unscrupulous capitalist combinations to generate and foster bad feeling between the workers of different countries, to counteract the universal tendency of the workers of the world towards comradeship and mutual helpfulness in all matters affecting their international welfare. Further, this Congress suggests that the British Government should seek powers from Parliament to apply the principles of the Foreign Enlistments Act to such as organise these blackleg expeditions to other States, and so prevent the possibility of foreign complications arising from such dangerous conspiracies.

He pointed out that whenever there was a dispute on the Continent, England was made a recruiting ground for blacklegs on behalf of the employers. Thousands of

Englishmen had been sent to Germany and Sweden on this disgraceful business. It might be urged that these men were for the most part wastrels; but many of them were strong and capable workmen driven to accept anything in the way of a job by the pangs of hunger. Unemployment, therefore, was the root of the evil; and that problem must be solved.

Mr. J. B. WILLIAMS (Musicians) seconded, and said that, although it might seem to be a far cry from the docker to the musician, there was a bond of sympathy between the two, because blacklegging tactics had now been introduced into the musicians' business. Unless the workers of this country took strong steps to put an end to the scandal England would soon become the most despised amongst the nations from the Trade Union point of view.

Mr. J. H. WILSON, M.P. (Sailors' and Firemen's Union), said it was impossible to find words strong enough to condemn those of their countrymen who sold their manhood in this fashion. If they waited for the House of Commons to take the matter up they might wait a long time. They had already introduced a Bill in the House of Commons, and next year they would re-introduce it, and it would be placed upon the paper every night and moved at the end of the business. Any one member could object, and so block the Bill; but they must call the attention of the electors in the constituencies concerned to the conduct of gentlemen acting in that way. Mixing as he did with men of almost all nationalities, he had found that their prestige as British workmen had sadly suffered during recent years through this blacklegging business. There was a time when British Trade Unionists were held in high esteem upon the Continent; but at Antwerp recently during a strike he saw a bill upon the walls which described a worker from this country as a "British louse." When they were described in that way it was time they made some effort to remove the cause of offence. Only this year over 2,000 men had been sent from England to the far north of Sweden to take the place of the dock labourers there. He hoped Congress would give all the support they could to the efforts that would be made to get Mr. Crooks' Bill through the House of Commons.

Mr. J. STOKES (London Glass Blowers) thought the application of the Foreign Enlistment Act might effectually stop the system of blacklegging in connection with large disputes.

Mr. H. ORBELL (London Dockers) said they not only wanted to stop British workmen from going on Continental blacklegging expeditions, but also to stop the foreigners from entering this country on similar expeditions, as was the case very frequently at present. Many of the delegates had been singing the praises of the Parliamentary Committee. He desired to mention a few of their shortcomings. They had set to work and organised a Committee of the unskilled workers' unions to try to fix up a kind of amalgamation. At a meeting of those bodies it was agreed that a deputation should wait upon the Joint Board, a part of which is the Parliamentary Committee—and he only complained of that part—asking them, while Parliament was still sitting, to take immediate steps to bring before the Government the evils of this blacklegging system, and to petition every Trades Council to get them to wait upon the Members in their constituencies, and to call meetings demanding of them to take steps in the House of Commons irrespective of party to stop the blacklegging of foreign countries by British workmen. Unfortunately, they could not find the Secretary, and they had to wait until they manufactured one. They discovered at last who the Secretary of the Joint Board was; but from that time to now nothing had been done in the matter.

The resolution was carried.

AMENDMENT TO STANDING ORDER RELATING TO DISPUTES.

Mr. C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P. (on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee) moved the following revision of Standing Order No. 20:—

Any society engaged in a dispute and considering themselves aggrieved by reason of the members of another society assisting to defeat those on strike may report the circumstances to the Parliamentary Committee, who may then take such steps as the circumstances may warrant, and should the charge be proved the offending society shall be charged with all costs.

Should any society make a charge against another society, and after due investigation fail to prove the same, it shall bear the whole cost of the investigation, including the expenses incurred by the defendant society; and if in the opinion of the Parliamentary Committee the charge be a false one, wilfully and knowingly made, the society shall, in addition to bearing the expense, be liable to a fine not exceeding £20.

Should any society make a charge against another society, and the society against whom the charge is made refuses to have the same investigated, such society shall be deemed guilty, and be reported to Congress.

Any society refusing to pay the expenses of inquiry or fine as laid down by this Standing Order shall be reported to Congress.

He said he spoke rather feelingly upon the subject, because he had been entrusted, with two of his colleagues, with three of these disputes between societies during the year, and he desired to say on his own behalf that their efforts had been almost futile. They had been called upon to take up cases, not of distinct and clear charges against another society, but rather of suggestions as to what the result of the action of another society might eventually bring about, and those who had studied the reports of the disputes with which they had had to deal must have come to the conclusion that the result of the intervention had been anything but satisfactory. In fact, as they knew, at the termination of one or two of the inquiries, they were placed in the unsatisfactory position of the society against whom the award had been given declining to pay the costs of the inquiry. The Parliamentary Committee felt that under the old rule a society had to make a clear and definite charge against another society, and the Committee then had the knowledge and satisfaction of feeling that, although they could not hope to please both sides, they would be able to give such an award that the society that failed would feel that after all the award was one they could accept with a fair amount of grace. Under the head of "pursuing a policy which is calculated to injure the members of the society complaining," all sorts of vexatious charges could be brought against a society, and the machinery of Congress invoked for inquiring into it. Congress never intended the Parliamentary Committee to be engaged in work of that kind. He, therefore, moved that the paragraph containing that provision be deleted from the Standing Order, and that the next paragraph, dealing with the appointment of three referees, be also removed. In other words, he asked Congress to revert to the old Standing Order.

Mr. W. J. DAVIS (Brass Workers) seconded, and pointed out that the paragraph in the Standing Order referring to arbitration had led to no end of friction and disappointment. It was always a contentious matter as to what constituted a proper Standing Order. In the old days they had no Standing Order regulating disputes, and he had known cases where Congress, to whom a direct appeal used to be made, had spent days in the consideration of the dispute, and they might have spent weeks, without coming to a satisfactory conclusion. But the rule remitting such questions to the Parliamentary Committee had worked well on the whole. They regretted exceedingly that the Engineers seceded at Plymouth. The English Iron Moulders, the Scottish Moulders, and the Blacksmiths had left through past decisions; and they now asked Congress to be very careful how they remitted cases in dispute to the Parliamentary Committee. There was the question of demarcation. Why, it would be impossible for that Congress, for the Parliamentary Committee, or any Special Committee to decide in a month to the satisfaction of both parties on the question of demarcation; and the paragraph pointed out by Mr. Bowerman showed how easy it was to remit a case to the Parliamentary Committee, and how hard it was to satisfy both sides. The delegates must agree that it was exceedingly undesirable to be constantly offending one society or another, and causing them to withdraw from Congress.

THE TINPLATE WORKERS' AMENDMENT.

Mr. J. C. GORDON (Tinplate Workers): My society has an amendment to this Standing Order. Am I to move it now?

The PRESIDENT: The question will be for the Parliamentary Committee's amendment as it stands, and your amendment will be put as an amendment to that.

Mr. J. C. GORDON then moved to insert after the word "strike" in the first paragraph, "or by the members of another society working under wages or conditions contrary to those established by a kindred trade." He said: I want to say a few words in opposition to the position of the Parliamentary Committee. In the first

place, Mr. Bowerman says it will be evident from the report that these cases have caused a good deal of dissatisfaction. But the report of these cases has not been fully placed before us—only the findings. I can fully realise that these rules, which we passed last year, have given the Parliamentary Committee more work; but, after all, we ought to have the machinery whereby every difference of opinion can be considered and dealt with by this Congress in Committee. I never expected, and I should think the Parliamentary Committee never expect, that they are going to give satisfaction to all parties. One has to go to the wall, and "is naturally aggrieved thereby. The only harm has been that the Parliamentary Committee has had a lot of extra and objectionable work to perform. Have we had secessions from this Congress? Far from it. We have had threats. I think the rule is good, because the whole of the societies feel that they can approach the Parliamentary Committee to settle any difference that may arise between them.

Mr. J. B. STEVENS (Tin and Iron Plate Workers) seconded the amendment moved by Mr. Gordon. He said he knew of no better method of settling disputes than by arbitration in front of men chosen from their own ranks. A good deal could be said about arbitration in general; but if they could not arbitrate on their own disputes how were they going to do it in connection with other people's troubles? If there are not enough members on the Parliamentary Committee to deal with these matters, let their number be increased, or let Special Committees be appointed. He hoped Congress would, rather than slacken this principle of arbitration and trial by members of the Trade Unions, tighten the strings and make it as detestable for one society to act against another as it was for this country to blackleg the foreigners. They should purify their own ranks before talking about their relations with other countries.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS FROM AMERICA.

At this stage the debate was suspended to receive the fraternal greetings from the American Federation of Labour.

The PRESIDENT, in introducing the delegates, observed that having had the privilege of attending the American Federation of Labour last year he felt that these fraternal greetings and meetings were highly appreciated.

Mr. J. J. CREAMER, of the Machinists' International Association, said he found the troubles of those in England to be their troubles, English remedies in a great measure their remedies, English aims and objects their objects. In America the party was advancing slowly in improving conditions. Speaking of the cotton industry in the southern part of the country, to which he belonged, while they might not have so many unfed children as were seen in Nottingham last Sunday, they had what was worse, the uneducated child, the child brought into the factory at the time he should be in the schoolroom; and the battle Labour was fighting earnestly and faithfully in the South was to abolish this. Conditions were being improved, and eventually it was their hope to take from the factory both the child and the woman. The part of the country in which he resided was known as the "rebel part," and the time might come when it would be again necessary to rebel against some great industrial measure. Referring to the strike on the Canadian Pacific Railway, he mentioned that a representative named Cross, himself a member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers—many of whose men were out on that strike—was over in this country looking for men to take the place of the strikers. In America they would know what to do with that man. He hoped he would get back safely, though. The staunch members of the A.S.E. had sent another man over who was behind "that fellow," watching him, and would, he hoped, prevent him from taking a single man back on the boat with him. Most of his audience, the speaker proceeded, had heard of the serious condition of affairs in the Labour movement brought about by the abusive use of the injunction in America, an institution which had grown to such an extent during the last few years that now it applied to almost everything. A certain element of the Trade Unionists had declared that the only thing to do—and this year it was being done—was to go into politics, had gone to the Republican Convention with their demands, and had got nothing at all. The Democratic Convention, however, had conceded their demands, and Trade Unionists did not intend to fight for the Republican ticket. The only thing left to them was to fight one party with the other, and that was the plan to be tried

this year. In conclusion, he congratulated Congress upon the very fine body of men it comprised, and paid a warm compliment to the Chairman, who, he said, left behind him in America a splendid reputation.

AN INTERESTING PHILOSOPHICAL SURVEY.

Mr. ANDREW FERUSUTH, of the International Seamen's Union, the other American delegate, observed that those who had gone over and formed the new society in America took over not only the good but, unfortunately, some of the bad things also. The employers of America having grown enormously rich, and correspondingly powerful, had used their power to prevent the logical and historical development of the country, the whole trend as Trade Unionists saw it being from democracy to absolutism, to the position which once obtained in Rome—that of master and slave—and against that equality, brotherhood, and justice which belonged to the sons of one common Father. The present struggle of Labour—attempted consciously or unconsciously—was for the doctrine of human equality and brotherhood, to seize upon the industrial field, and to transform it into its own image. If permitted to develop logically and peacefully it must place the workingmen in possession of the power to stop the machinery of production, to make it useless to its owner, until he should recognise that the worker had the right to be consulted as to the conditions under which he was going to work. Industrial absolutism as America had now got it denied that right, and Trade Unionists there realised that if they were to get freedom to associate themselves, to use that association for the placing of the child in the school and the playground, the woman in the home, and the man in a position to feed and protect his family, they must have the freedom, not only to associate, but to quit work at once. They believed their agitation could have no effect on the employing class unless it was in their power as united workmen to make the employer's machinery useless and destroying for the time being, or completely if necessary, his business. At present the fight was under peculiar conditions. The employer, through his immense wealth, had seized upon the State, and was using it for his own ends; upon the Universities, step by step through endowments; upon the Church; and to a very large extent upon the newspapers, schools, and the legal profession. What had the workingman to set against that power, the power of those immense corporations employing, and almost absolutely controlling, as many as 200,000 men, equal to a million of the population? They had against it the conception of human equality and brotherhood, which was the most revolutionary doctrine the world had ever conceived. Mixed with the industrial struggle in America they had the race struggle. They had two races side by side, incapable of assimilation or of being subject to the same form of government, and therefore a clog and a danger in every way they looked at it. The Americans, for all their independence of thought and independence of effort, were proud to look back upon the British Trade Union movement as their teachers in most things.

Each of the American delegates was presented by the PRESIDENT, on behalf of the Congress, with a case of cutlery, and a *facsimile* of the Congress medal in gold and enamel; and Miss Creamer was given a gold chain and pendant.

GREETINGS FROM THE LABOUR PARTY.

Mr. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P., Chairman of the Labour Party, in his fraternal address on behalf of that body, said that never had the relationships between the Congress and the Labour Party been more cordial than they were to-day. During the year a limited section of the Press had been attacking them. They had had suggestions that Socialism had captured the Trade Unions' funds, and appeals had been made to the Trade Unions to become aware of the menacing position occupied by the political section of the movement. That was done for a purpose. Those people knew that the cordial relations between the two sections existed, but they did not desire them to be maintained. He could assure them that the Labour Party had only one desire, and that was to do effectively the work for which they had been called into existence. It was with gratification that he stated that, notwithstanding all the carping criticism to which the political Labour movement was subjected, they continued to make progress. Eight years ago, at the end of the first year after they were brought into existence, they represented 375,000

members, and at the end of last year they represented 1,072,000 members. Now they had a highly-organised independent Labour force in the House of Commons, consisting of 31 members, and that was not all. They had concluded an arrangement since the Liverpool Congress by which on all-important Labour and Trade Union questions they would be able to bring together a force of some 54 members on the floor, and in the right lobby of the House of Commons. The Labour Party deserved the confidence of the Congress for what they had done. They should be representing two millions of people, for they were called into being to give political interpretation to the findings of that Congress. It was satisfactory to know that the figures would be increased by the addition of the affiliated membership of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. It was a magnificent step in the right direction. They could only be properly supported by every Trade Union becoming affiliated. Some of them were running away because the Labour Party had followed the example of the Congress and passed a resolution on Socialism, but it was only the same as the Congress passed at Norwich in 1894. It seemed to him but a lame excuse for any Trade Union either to withhold or threaten to withdraw because the majority of the delegates passed that resolution. He trusted that the mother and daughter would become almost equal in size, and retain confidence in each other, for the legislative and administrative work of the Labour Party would be to give effect to the resolutions of the Congress.

GENERAL FEDERATION'S GOOD WISHES.

Mr. W. A. APPLETON extended fraternal greetings on behalf of the General Federation of Trade Unions. He stated that during the last year they had increased their membership by 68,000, had dealt with 712 disputes, distributing amongst the affiliated societies between £60,000 and £70,000 in the shape of federation benefits. They had the funds and were ready for a prolonged fight if necessary. They were looking to more harmonious working between the different phases of the Labour movement. There were some who wanted to abolish the oldest of the three organisations, but he reminded them they need not go quite the same ways to achieve the same end, and the addition of their work, the magnitude of which he had indicated, would throw an unbearable burden upon the Congress Committee. He was hopeful that the time would come when there would be a joint committee of the Miners' Federation and the General Federation of Trade Unions, and there was no obstacle to such an arrangement, as far as he could see, whereby in times of stress they could present the magnificent front of 1,300,000 members.

GREETINGS FROM THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION.

Mr. S. REDFERN (Burton-on-Trent) addressed Congress on behalf of the Co-operative Union. He remarked that his union and the Congress could not see eye to eye upon every point, but they were working together, though by different ways, for one object—the social betterment of the people. He also referred to the matter under discussion the previous day in relation to the refusal of the Co-operative Wholesale Society to accept the award of the Joint Committee, and said he wished to associate himself with the condemnation of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, and, as a member of the Co-operative Union, he declared that his fellow members would want to know the reason that had actuated the directors of the Co-operative Wholesale Society.

THE CASE OF DAISY LORD.

Mr. W. BRACE, M.P. (Chairman of the General Purposes Committee), said one of the societies had asked the General Purposes Committee to recommend the suspension of Standing Orders so that the case of the unhappy girl Daisy Lord might be discussed. They had come to the conclusion, however, that it would not be prudent to adopt such a course; but he was instructed to ask the delegates to sign the petition which the representatives of the Operative Stonemasons' Society had in the hall, praying the Home Secretary to repeal the sentence of penal servitude for life. He thought the sentence was an outrageous one, and he hoped the delegates would unanimously attach their signatures to the petition, so that something practical might be done in the matter.

STANDING ORDERS DEBATE RESUMED.

Mr. R. DAVIES (Municipal Employés) resumed the discussion on the proposed amendments to Standing Order No. 20. He opposed the amendment of the Tin Plate Workers. He thought that the Standing Order as altered by the Parliamentary Committee was not sufficient to meet the needs of the case. There were many other charges besides those set out in the first paragraph which might be decided by the Parliamentary Committee. For instance, under the amended Standing Order, the dispute of the cokemen could not have been investigated. It would be unwise to restrict the action of the Parliamentary Committee to matters arising out of a strike, as the amendment contemplated.

Mr. D. C. CUMMINGS (Parliamentary Committee) contended that the Trades Union Congress was brought into being for the purpose of dealing with great national questions of general interest to the workers of the country, and should not have its organisation used for the settlement of every little dispute that arose between the various societies. Did the miners expect Congress to settle the differences between their constituent parts? Did the weavers? Mr. Gordon said the Parliamentary Committee complained at having to do their work; but they only complained at having to do the wrong kind of work. The continuance of the Standing Order in its present shape would help to disintegrate the Labour movement rather than assist in its consolidation.

The amendment moved by Mr. Gordon was lost, and the Parliamentary Committee's amendment was carried almost unanimously.

Congress then adjourned until Thursday morning.

FOURTH DAY.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10th.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 9-30, and the minutes of the previous day's proceedings were read and confirmed.

THE MOTOR TRAFFIC PROBLEM.

Mr. S. MARCH (London Carmen) moved:—

That this Congress views with great alarm the ever-increasing number of accidents and deaths amongst the general public caused through the excessive speed and callous driving of motorists, and instructs its Parliamentary Committee to use every means in its power to get legislation so amended as to restrict the speed gear of motors to a maximum of 15 miles per hour, and in instances of heavier vehicles the speed gear be fixed at a less degree in proportion to the weight of the vehicles.

He called attention to the dangers of the streets through motor vehicles being driven at excessive speed, and pointed out that they were only asking in the resolution that the restrictions laid down by the police and the Board of Trade should be carried into effect.

Mr. F. THURSTON (London Enginemén) seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

THE PROPER MANNING OF VEHICLES.

Mr. A. ASTLES (United Carters) moved:—

That this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to again introduce into Parliament during the next session the Bill to enable public authorities to prohibit one person from having charge of two horses and two vehicles, promoted by the United Carters' Association of England.

He said the practice of having one man in charge of two horses and vehicles was a most dangerous one. In the past, when they approached the municipal authorities,

they never had any difficulty in getting the power to abolish the system ; and if the measure was passed by Parliament there would be no difficulty in getting the municipal authorities to put it into operation.

Mr. W. ELSTON (United Carters) seconded, and said there was a great deal that could be said upon the subject had it been necessary to go into it at any length. It was nothing short of sweating to make one man do the work of two ; and the removal of the grievance of which they complained would obviously relieve the unemployed workers considerably.

Mr. A. GRUNDY (Carters and Lurrymen) supported the resolution, and said the Bill for the removal of the trouble had been presented year after year, and had never got beyond the second reading stage. If the Bill were passed in a permissive form their grievance would disappear.

The resolution was carried.

EXTENSION OF SHOP CLUBS ACT TO TRADE UNIONS.

Mr. W. J. DAVIS (Brass Workers) moved :—

That this Congress reaffirms the opinion that the Shop Clubs Act should, in order to protect the liberty of the workers, be amended so as to make it illegal for employers or their agents to dismiss employes simply because they are Trade Unionists or co-operators ; and, further, that the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to render every assistance in promoting the amending Bill standing in the name of Mr. J. Ward, M.P., which would, if enacted, secure this protection.

The resolution, he said, had been passed at several previous Congresses, and that was not a good thing for any resolution. It dealt with the liberty of the subject, and was based upon a very important precedent. The Friendly Societies throughout the country approached the Government—a Conservative Government—and said there had been cases where their members had been dismissed from their employment on account of their membership. Whereupon the House of Commons unanimously decided to punish any employer found guilty of such intolerant conduct. In his own society there were some 20 or 30 cases every year of men being dismissed because they were Trade Unionists. He trusted the amending Bill would be better looked after by the Labour Members in the House of Commons than it had been. It should be the duty of all the Labour Members to secure this act of justice for the workers by making it illegal for them to be dismissed in this way.

Mr. S. CROSS (Nottingham Brassworkers) formally seconded.

Mr. F. FREEMAN (Stonemasons) said that in his trade, in connection with Government contracts, notices were exhibited prohibiting men from inquiring whether workmen were Trade Unionists or not, and non-unionists were given preference to the detriment of the Trade Unionists.

The resolution was carried.

THE GOVERNMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

Mr. J. WALKER (Steel Smelters) moved :—

That, in the opinion of this Congress, the Unemployed Workmen Act has utterly failed to touch even the fringe of the unemployed question, and this Congress, recognising that unemployment is now permanent in character in busy as in slack seasons, in summer and in winter, and is common to all trades and industries, declares that the time has arrived when the Government must make provision for the purpose of finding work of public utility for all sections of unemployed men and women ; and, further, this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to render its heartiest support to the Unemployed Bill of the Labour Party, as presented to the House of Commons by Mr. P. W. Wilson.

In Mr. Wilson's Bill, which had been before the House of Commons, he said, there was an attempt to saddle the State with responsibility for the unemployed question. If the Bill was in force, it would so rearrange matters that many causes of unemployment would speedily disappear. The out-of-work man who had lost hope and the desire to struggle against his cruel fate was called unemployable by many politicians ; but they must not call any man names until he had been given his chance and had been conceded the right to work.

Mr. G. H. PEARSON (Tram and Vehicle Workers) seconded, and observed that unemployment was the cause of nearly every resolution upon the Agenda. To be of any use, any measure that pretended to deal with the unemployment question should be compulsory in its application. He had heard the Unemployment Bill described as pure Socialism, and that fact gave him additional pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Mr. PETE CURRAN, M.P. (National Gasworkers): I take it that the Congress generally will regard this resolution as one of the most important we have discussed this week. I hope the Congress will take it in all seriousness, and pass it unanimously. In the industrial world at present we are faced with one of the most pathetic sights ever experienced in the history of the country. We have trade in its normal state, and in the month of September we have thousands of men demanding that the local authorities shall do something to find them employment. If that is so in the month of September, what may we expect in December and January? If Parliament is not prepared to do something, then there is a possibility that thousands of hungry men may be inclined to do something for themselves. If anything of that kind occurs we cannot be blamed. We moved an amendment to the Speech from the Throne on this question. We secured a large amount of support for that amendment from various sides of the House. We introduced our Bill, and we were told by the Ministers, by the Front Opposition, that the Bill was bristling with imperfections. Most Bills introduced into the House of Commons are open to the same criticism. But those Ministers and the men in Opposition who declared against us—and we were confronted with a coalition of both parties—were afraid because we asked them for money; and yet in the space of seven minutes, during the discussion on the Estimates, we voted £30,000,000 for army and navy equipment. When it comes to a question of £200,000 for the unemployed—when it came to our point on the Local Government Report that some money should be provided for giving the unemployed work—we discussed for an hour without getting any satisfaction as to what was to be done.

Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P. (Gas Workers): I am surprised at the Grouping Committee bringing up such a weak resolution as this. On the Agenda there are four resolutions, and in three of them the cause of the trouble is pointed out. In the resolution before us, however, there is not one word as to the cause. It goes on to point out that unemployment is a great evil in slack times as well as in prosperous. But we must go to the bed-rock of the thing, and everyone knows the real reason by this time why so many people are out of work. It is due to the speeding up of machinery, the introduction of new machinery, and the scientific methods brought into the workshop. And one of the best palliatives for the decrease of unemployment would be the reduction of hours throughout the country. Every one agrees with this resolution and with the Bill of the Labour party, which will be reintroduced in the House of Commons at the earliest possible moment. Suppose we get that Bill into operation. Work will be found and Government grants will be made. But as the machinery is speeded up, as the new inventions come along, the trouble will be as bad as ever. The workers will have to tackle this question of machinery—not, as some people think, by its destruction, but by capturing it and having it worked and controlled for the whole community.

Mr. BEN TURNER (Batley Weavers) desired to thank Mr. Wilson for bringing the Unemployed Bill forward in the House, and he regretted exceedingly that they had not been able to get the poor out-of-work people the right to work, and therefore the right to live. Unemployment was now chronic, and chronic diseases required extreme remedies. During the time of the troubles in Ireland many years ago, in the days when Sir William Harcourt was alive, they passed a Coercion Bill through Parliament in 24 hours. If that could be done for putting down what they called crime, they ought to be able to pass a Bill for the relief of the unemployed in 24 hours during the Autumn Session of the present Parliament.

Mr. H. ORBELL (London Dockers) alluded to the amount of unemployment around the docks of London, pointing out a careful investigation had revealed that there were 70,000 men looking for work in that region daily and unable to find any.

Mr. J. R. CLYNES, M.P. (Gasworkers): The cause of men being out of work is that they cannot find employers willing to engage them, and the reason why employers will not engage them is because they find that they cannot make a profit out of their labour. That is not a reason for keeping the men out of work altogether.

Those men have some rights, and our laws some hundreds of years ago defined those rights. We do not want to revive that legislation, but to find up-to-date remedies. According to the figures of Mr. Burns, less than one-half of those registered as being out of work and willing to work and able to do it have been found employment by the agency of the present law for any time whatever. The absolute failure of the present law, therefore, is proved. Instead of being used as an excuse for delaying legislation, this abortive result is, to my mind, a reason for immediate effort at finding a remedy. The large percentage of unskilled men who are out of work would be the first to find employment in any scheme of general relief. For the baker, watchmaker, and the rest of the men out of work can only have a demand made for the goods they make when the others are put into the position of being wage-spenders. There must be a reduction of the long hours of many of the Government workers, and those of the men upon the railways and on public bodies. Some members of this Congress have expressed themselves very strongly as to possible violence on the part of the unemployed, but no amount of violence by men out of work is likely to do any good. I look rather to the influence of the men in work for the settlement of this difficulty.

Mr. J. GRIBBLE (Boot and Shoe Operatives) said they had to bear in mind the fact that during the last three or four years they had had trade better than in any other period, and yet they had seen a great army of unemployed in the country. And now, with the passing of the good times, that army was increasing and there was a demand for something to be done. So long as they recognised the right of private property to be owned and controlled by a comparatively few people, temporary measures of relief would be of very little avail. Every one born into this country had a right to work; and they should rather encourage such scenes as they had recently witnessed in Glasgow. They must strike the fear of man into the hearts of their governors; and so long as our Labour Members were content to be respectable and to be insulted, as when they introduced the Unemployment Bill, they would not get much farther.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

PRESENTATION TO MISS CREAMER.

The PRESIDENT: Mr. Appleton, on behalf of a few friends in the lace trade, desires to make Miss Creamer, the daughter of one of the American delegates, a present of a sample of their work.

Mr. W. A. APPLETON: I feel that the people of Nottingham would hardly like a lady to come all the way from the United States on an occasion like this without taking back a souvenir of the visit in the shape of a sample of the industry in this city. I have here a little blouse—I believe on the other side of the Atlantic they are called “waists”—which has been designed and made entirely in the town and under Trade Union conditions. I hope Miss Creamer will accept this little offering as a sign of the goodwill towards her of those engaged in the Nottingham lace trade.

Miss CREAMER: I thank you most sincerely, not only for this beautiful present, but for all the courtesies you have extended to me. I think I shall want to come again, and I shall want to wear the blouse all the time.

GENERAL PURPOSES COMMITTEE: AN EXPLANATION.

Mr. W. BRACE (General Purposes Committee) brought up a report with respect to the cancelling of the credentials of the Variety Artists' Protection League. He read a letter which had led to the investigation into the league's *bona fides*, and detailed the course of the subsequent proceedings. On the Tuesday morning, after the recommendation to cancel the credentials had been approved by Congress, a letter was received from the Parliamentary Committee protesting to the General Purposes Committee at their action in disposing of a matter which was already in the hands of the Joint Board. The members of the General Purposes Committee then expressed surprise that the Parliamentary Committee should have taken exception to what had taken place, seeing that they had no desire except to maintain the status of Congress. An issue had been raised which would establish an important precedent; and it was because the General Purposes Committee were concerned at the prospect of handing over the control of Congress to the Parliamentary Committee that he had been asked to bring the matter forward. The main issue between the Parliamentary Committee

and this Congress was as to whether the Parliamentary Committee was to have power to set on one side the finding or decision of Congress, or whether the Congress was to be the final judge.

The PRESIDENT: I deeply regret that the General Purposes Committee should have thought fit to bring this matter before Congress at all. On Monday, at the close of the sitting, the Chairman of the General Purposes Committee, with another colleague, came here and asked to raise this question. I was in a difficulty. They wanted the matter raised there and then. I at once informed them that they had no right to raise it. We have an arrangement with the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Labour Party, and ourselves that all questions affecting the *bona-fides* of Trade Unions affiliated to one of the three bodies shall be settled by representatives of those bodies. We have adopted that plan because it is unwise that unions should be allowed to play one of the bodies off against the other. I asked them not to press this matter, as it was in the hands of the Joint Board, and had been partly considered. They pressed it, however, and I permitted them to make their recommendation. The following morning the Parliamentary Committee considered the question, and we determined as a Parliamentary Committee that the case should still go on, as the Joint Board was the proper authority to settle the case. We stand to that decision. We think it is unfair that the General Purposes Committee, after taking their own course, should come here and try to re-hear the case in the absence of the gentleman who has been expelled from Congress. That is un-English. If this matter is considered even as a question between the Parliamentary Committee and the General Purposes Committee, you cannot keep out of it the cause of the issue—namely, the affiliation of this society. It is a mistake to go into this question at all. We think as a Parliamentary Committee that the gentleman expelled ought not to have his case tried while he is not here.

Mr. J. O'GORMAN (Variety Artists' Federation): He was here. He has been here for two years under false pretences.

The PRESIDENT: That is just the reason why I think this question should not be discussed here. The plaintiffs are here, but not the defendant. This case has been brought here, and they have got a decision. But we do stand by this: that the Joint Board duly appointed ought to settle the matter. I do hope you will not permit this question of *bona-fides* to come before Congress. I ask you to treat this matter fairly, and let it stop where it is; and the decision of Congress on Monday will be conveyed to the Joint Board. But do not decide that the Joint Board has no right to consider this case. The Joint Board will only ask: "What is the use of putting these cases in our hands if any one Congress can take them out again?"

Four delegates rose simultaneously and moved the previous question, which was carried, and the incident closed.

GRANTS IN AID FOR TRADE UNIONS.

Mr. C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P. (London Compositors), moved:—

That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has arrived when the Government should consider the propriety of making grants in aid to trade organisations which, during periods of slackness, support their members by the payment of Out-of-Work Benefit; and that it be an instruction to the Parliamentary Committee to request the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to receive a deputation upon the subject.

He said: Speaking subject to correction, I think this is the first time Congress has had an opportunity of discussing a matter of this kind, and when we, as a Congress, call for State aid I think we may be expected to show that we have a good claim to make. I have been very much interested in reading the account of a debate which took place in this hall 25 years ago; and I would like to read a short extract from the paper read by Mr. Frederic Harrison upon this particular matter. He was not here to defend Trade Unionism, but his paper largely dealt with what the unions were doing to alleviate suffering; and he reviewed the work of the previous 15 years, during which the country had passed through a great industrial crisis, a period which he said would have broken the back of the soundest institutions, but through which the Trade Unions had passed successfully. He pointed out that in one year—1877—the Amalgamated Society of Engineers had spent little short of a quarter of a

million of money in relieving the distress of their members, and that the Durham Miners had spent something like £100,000 in the same period. He also said that in the preceding six years seven of our trade societies had expended over £2,000,000 in acts of benevolence. Mr. George Howell stated that he had computed that in the year 1879 no less than 11,850 families were wholly supported by the funds of five Trade Unions. I think I have said enough to prove that we have some claim to make a demand upon the Government to do something in the direction indicated in the resolution. If these figures are not large enough, may I refer to the figures given in the Government Blue Book? In 1895 100 Trade Unions had expended £521,000 in unemployed relief, and correspondingly large sums for superannuation, sick, and other benefits. In ten years 100 Trade Unions had spent in unemployed benefit, sick pay and accident benefit, and in superannuation, a total of over £9,790,000. If I may mention the case of a small organisation, may I say that in a period of nine years ending with December last a society numbering under 11,000 men had paid out of their pockets the sum of £146,843. I mention this because the outside public know little if anything of what the Trade Unions of this country are doing in this direction. It may be objected that many of our Trade Unions do not pay unemployed benefit, and that consequently they would not benefit in the slightest degree by the passing of this proposal. But if you carry this proposition, and the Government in the course of time should look favourably upon it, that may encourage those societies which do not possess out-of-work funds to fall into line with the rest of us. The Trade Unions have the machinery at hand for the distribution of any money the State might be prepared to grant, so that it would all be directly applied in relief of the unemployed workmen, with no deductions for high official salaries. This is a new proposal, and the desire of my society in submitting it for the first time is that it may receive a free and full discussion. If it is carried, we can hardly expect it to bear fruit at once. I appeal to you to give this matter your fullest and most free consideration; and if you do pass it, I am sure your Parliamentary Committee will take the matter thoroughly in hand, and do their best to secure the object aimed at.

Mr. T. E. NAYLOR (London Compositors): In seconding this proposal, may I ask the delegates not to withhold their sympathy from the principle we seek to have passed this morning simply because that principle is a new one so far as this Congress is concerned? Many things that are new and novel in their application are apt to strike one on first impression as not being desirable; but when we become more familiar with the principle, we come to the conclusion that, after all, if it is good in principle it ought also to be good in practice. Time was, Mr. President, when the unemployed question was only a contingency that the Trade Unions had to meet, but we have been reminded this morning that to-day the question is something more than a contingency—it has become an established institution. The unemployed workman is a permanent charge upon almost every Trade Union in the country. If, therefore, no provision is made by the State to provide for the necessities of the workman who is unable to find labour for his hands, surely we have a right to expect that the State shall be prepared to find the means for the workman to obtain the wherewithal by which he is able to live. The majority of the Trade Unions have met the situation by saying that so far as their own members are concerned they shall not be allowed to starve. They have thus gone farther than the State has gone, for the State has stood silently by until quite recently, and has shown that it is quite prepared to allow these men to starve, notwithstanding that it is the duty of the State to provide the means of life. We are not asking for a charitable contribution from the National Exchequer. Do we talk of charity when we ask the Local Government Board to provide grants for unemployed workmen? If, therefore, it is not charity for the Local Government Board to distribute funds that are mainly contributed by the working people of the community, surely it is fair to ask that these unions should be assisted in the work of keeping great bodies of men off the rates.

Mr. G. H. ROBERTS (Typographical Association): I fail to see how we, as Trade Unionists, can claim specific protection at the hands of the State in this matter. If we ask the Government to give us grants they will require to have some control over our organisation. But my particular point is that these grants can only come out of national taxation, and we should be compelling the unemployed workman to contribute to the more fortunate workman who is able to go to his society and draw

his out-of-work pay. We should stick to the point that this is a national question. If we try to deal with it in a sectional fashion, we shall indefinitely postpone the solution of the problem. For, after all, if any particular section of workers asks for special treatment it is a form of charity. The resolution asks us to take up the unemployed question in a way that is economically unsound.

Mr. W. HARVEY (Miners' Federation) opposed the resolution. It was an attempt to deal with the question sectionally, and would delay the final solution of the unemployed problem. The question of the Trade Unions and their contributions to their out-of-work members was one that could be dealt with by the unions themselves without asking Congress to interfere at all. Some of the unions had found relief for their members during depressed times, but the unemployed question went deeper than that; it affected the whole of the trades of the country. It had been said that they wanted to encourage the loafer. Nothing was farther from the truth. But they did claim that the man who was willing to work should not be left to starve.

Mr. C. HICKIN (Tin Plate Workers) said that as one suffering from unemployment himself he knew there was no solution for the trouble to be found in the proposition. Unemployment was greater now than it had ever been. In his own union they never had much unemployment in days gone by, but something like ten per cent. of the members was now out of work.

Mr. A. J. SPILLER (Coopers) supported the resolution, and said his little branch of 700 members in five years had paid out £7,500 in out-of-work pay. In five years they had paid for all benefits (nothing for accidents) the sum of £11,000. Did anyone mean to tell those men it would be a charitable contribution if they accepted something from the State? They had paid their rates and taxes, and had also supported their unfortunate brethren.

Mr. W. WHITEFIELD (Miners' Federation) was at a loss to understand the position taken up by Mr. Roberts. If as a Labour member he was to be consistent with that position, he ought to tell the Local Government Board that they ought to make no more grants to the Councils for the purpose of finding employment for the out-of-works. He was prepared to admit that if they could close every workhouse in the country, and get back from the unemployed every penny that had been granted to them, there would be an immediate change. That immediate change, in his judgment, would be the beginning of a bloody revolution. The position taken up by Mr. Roberts would imply that and would lead to that. Mr. Harvey had spoken against the resolution, but his Federation were prepared to support it.

Mr. J. SEXTON (Liverpool Dockers): I was going to rise in opposition to this resolution and express my surprise at its appearance because of the well-known even-mindedness of the man who drew it up. My admiration for his character, however, will prevent me from saying strong things about it. But the one point I want to call attention to is that this resolution introduces class distinctions and puts a premium upon men who are fortunate enough to belong to a society possessing an out-of-work fund. There is no provision whatever for the unskilled workman in this proposal. I appeal to my friend Bowerman, whose old-world courtesy is well known to all of us, to exercise that well-balanced mind of his and recognise the distinct injustice of the resolution.

Mr. C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P. (London Compositors), in reply, said that other legislation and proposals had been described as class proposals before the resolution he was now proposing. He had heard the Trade Disputes Act so described. He had already acknowledged that many of the unskilled trades had no unemployed fund attached to their unions; but if the Government took a sympathetic view of their application he presumed an effort would be made by the unskilled trades to make themselves eligible for the relief. Again, his proposal had been described as charity. Well an Old Age Pension scheme would shortly come into operation, and some people had called that charity. He did not so describe it himself. He submitted that if in ten years nearly £10,000,000 had been spent by the Trade Unions of this country in unemployment, superannuation, sick, and funeral benefits, those unions had a right to make some demand upon the purse of the State. Mr. Harvey had urged that the proposal would not solve the unemployed problem. It was not put forward with that idea. He hoped Congress would confirm the resolution if only for the purpose of

giving the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Cabinet an opportunity for expressing their opinion upon a suggestion of this character.

The resolution was declared lost on a show of hands, and a card vote was then demanded, which resulted as follows:—

For the resolution	921,000
Against	559,000
Majority for.....	362,000

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION : INQUIRY DEMANDED.

Mr. J. SEXTON (Liverpool Dockers) moved:—

That we strongly protest against the action of employers who are discharging and refusing to employ workmen over 40 years of age or those having some slight physical defect but are otherwise capable of doing a good day's work owing to the embargo placed upon them by insurance companies, thereby depriving them of the means of living. We therefore request the Congress to instruct the Parliamentary Committee to promote legislation to prevent this by a system of compulsory State insurance, and in the meantime to press the Government to institute an inquiry into the matter.

He said the resolution was demanded by the workers in order that they might be protected from victimisation on account of legislation that had been passed in their favour. He could give cases of men who had received compensation, legitimately awarded in open court, whose names had been posted on a black list and handed round to every employer, notifying that the men had taken advantage of the Act and had recovered compensation, and that they should not be given employment within a given area. As Trade Unionists they only recognised the insurance companies by courtesy; they knew no one but the men who employed them, and the time was coming, if this thing was persisted in, when insurance companies would have to be definitely opposed by the workers refusing to deal with any one except the employer responsible for the injury to his workmen. The only way to prevent men from being victimised was to produce a system of compulsory State insurance, under which the State itself should fix the premium. The insurance companies were now placing an embargo upon men who had reached the age of 40 or 45 years. They talked about Old Age Pensions for men reaching 60 or 70, but the society which states that a man is unfit for work at 40 should be made to pay him a pension. They could not do that, but they could take the control of men out of the hands of the companies, who had neither a body to be kicked nor a soul to be damned.

Mr. W. MATKIN (Carpenters and Joiners) seconded the resolution, and assured the delegates that if their experience of the working of the Act had been anything like his own they would be of opinion that it had worked very badly towards the elderly workmen. When a man had grey hairs in his head he was no longer able to get work; and some masters were actually putting up notices that men over 40 years of age need not apply. The employers admitted that this was being done because the insurance companies considered there was a greater amount of risk with elderly men, and the companies were doubling their premiums. The State should be responsible for the entire system of insurance. He also thought that the Government, instead of objecting to the employment of old men, should set the private employers a better example by giving elderly men capable of doing their work the opportunity of earning their living alongside their younger fellow workers. Some of the local governing bodies worked on the Government plan, and considered a workman too old at 40. He considered that preference should be given rather than otherwise by the municipal authorities to men a little advanced in years.

Mr. H. PARKER (Enginemen and Kindred Trades) said the best solution of the whole difficulty was a system of State insurance; but whilst they were waiting for that system thousands of honest men were being put upon the scrap-heap of life. Not only old men, but some of the best and ablest men, were being thrown out, just because the margin of profit that could be got out of their labour was not equal to the margin of security. They thought sufficient evidence could be collected and put before the Government to justify them putting a stop to the disgraceful condition of affairs now prevailing.

Miss M. MACARTHUR (Women Workers' Federation) declared that the question at issue was one in which women were specially interested. They all knew the risk they ran in the case of accidents where employers were not insured of bankruptcy proceedings being instituted. Therefore they were all converted to the principle of compulsory insurance; but if they adopted the principle of compulsory insurance without insisting upon State insurance they were simply endowing the insurance companies. The insurance of workpeople ought not to be a source of profit to private corporations. Near Oldham a girl lost one leg some time ago, and the insurance company agreed to give her half her wages. The employer refused to let any one fetch the money for her, and she had to walk several miles to get her 6s. every week. This was thought at first to be wanton cruelty, but the reason soon became apparent. The girl began to ask if it was worth while to go so far for so small an amount, and then the firm offered her a lump sum. The offer was accepted, but the case came into court, and the judge declared that such a settlement was not binding upon the girl, and the firm had to lose the lump sum which had been paid, and was made to pay the money as before. This time, however, the money had to be taken to the girl instead of her having to fetch it. That was one of many instances that could be quoted to show how unfairly the Act was being worked. They should declare that so long as accidents occurred a system of compulsory insurance should be enforced.

ROYAL COMMISSION TO BE APPOINTED.

The PRESIDENT: During the last session of Parliament the Parliamentary Committee had several interviews with the Home Secretary with regard to the question of State insurance; and just before we met in this city last week I wrote to him to ask him how far we should be able to announce to this Congress what the present position of the Government was in regard to this matter. The discussion between the Parliamentary Committee and Mr. Gladstone has been as to the best method of dealing with this question; and he was of opinion that there should be a thorough inquiry by a Royal Commission, because this is a matter which will arouse some opposition by the companies and other interested parties. The Parliamentary Committee agreed that this is an important matter to ask for the introduction of a new Department in the State, and we quite approved of the Home Secretary's suggestion. He says that he is of the same opinion still, and proposes, during the Autumn Session, to proceed with the appointment of the Royal Commission. I trust we shall be able to report to you as to the appointment of that Commission, and what has been done by it at an early date.

The resolution was carried.

ABOLITION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS DEMANDED.

Mr. BEN COOPER (Cigar Makers) moved:—

That a hereditary legislative House of Lords, being opposed to national democratic representation, this Congress strongly urges upon the Government to take such steps as will secure the abolition of this privileged and reactionary assembly; and that the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to bring the question before the Prime Minister.

He said the resolution now contained the addition proposed by the Gasworkers' Union. Whenever the privileges of the aristocracy were being attacked they had their defenders in the House of Lords; but when progressive measures in the interests of the industrial classes were submitted to that assembly they consistently retarded them. Two years ago Mr. O'Grady carried a measure through the House of Commons to prevent the importation of blacklegs; and, although there was scarcely a single capitalist in the Lower House who dared to oppose that Bill, the House of Lords contemptuously rejected it. That was a course of action they ought to resent.

Mr. J. R. CLYNES, M.P. (National Gasworkers), seconded the resolution, and declared that the House of Lords had given them some of the very worst examples of mental and moral inferiority that one could think of. It was a mistake to describe it as a Second Chamber. It was a First Chamber, because the House of Commons could only attempt to pass what it thought the House of Lords was likely to accept. He agreed that reforms in the House of Commons were needed as well as in the House of Lords, but he could not accept the further amendment which he understood was to be moved by the vellum binders, because it declared that the working classes should not

have their attention distracted from questions of a working-class character. He thought, however, that it was better that they should take steps to remove the House of Lords from the path of progress. He thought all history had shown that the accident of birth did not carry with it any guarantee of personal fitness or superiority.

THE VELLUM BINDERS' AMENDMENT.

Mr. F. W. WELCH (Vellum Binders) moved the following amendment:—

That a hereditary House of Lords, being opposed to national democratic representation, should be abolished; but seeing that the present Government continues to create new Peers, while at the same time talking of abolishing them, this Congress calls upon the workers to refuse to have their attention distracted from real working-class questions, and first commence to alter the constitution of the House of Commons by sending independent working-class representatives to carry out the wishes and aspirations of the people.

He said he did not think that any member of the Congress could possibly defend the hereditary House of Lords, and if they could abolish that assembly to-morrow they would do so with pleasure. But what was the use of appealing to a Government which had not the slightest intention of dealing with the House of Lords and had helped to create a large portion of its members? The present Government was endeavouring to shield itself behind the House of Lords. As a matter of fact, the House of Lords was a perfect god-send to the Liberal Ministry. They brought forward measures which they had no intention of passing, and then they complained that the House of Lords stood in the way. The Trade Disputes Bill and the Workmen's Compensation Act had both been passed by the House of Lords, because they knew that the people were in earnest about them. But the Unemployed Bill had been rejected by the House of Commons. That showed that if they sent a sufficient number of Labour representatives to Westminster to control the House of Commons the House of Lords would not stand as a barrier to reform.

Mr. C. F. DAVIS (London Compositors) seconded the amendment, and said that, although he was not much in favour of the retention of the House of Lords, it struck him as rather peculiar that they were going to approach the Prime Minister and ask him to deal with the House of Lords when they were quite aware that, since Mr. Asquith had been Prime Minister, he had created more peers than any previous occupant of that office. They knew very well that many Liberals were anxiously looking forward to the time when they could resign and go to the House of Lords.

Mr. J. TURNER (Shop Assistants) said he could not quite understand the spirit of Congress. He knew they often did illogical things, but, instead of asking for the abolition of the House of Lords, why did not the people demand to be admitted to the Second Chamber? The working classes of this country were desirous of getting into power. There were working men Justices of the Peace, Members of Parliament, and Town Councillors. Why did not they ask to be admitted to the House of Lords while it existed?

The resolution was put against the Vellum Binders' amendment, and carried by a large majority. It was afterwards carried as a substantive motion.

Congress adjourned for luncheon.

AFTERNOON SITTING.

CONFERENCE OF MINERS' REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. R. SMILLIE (Miners' Federation) moved:—

In view of the fact that the Royal Commission on Mining Accidents has not completed its work, and that the Government are not likely to deal with any general mining legislation until the report of this Commission is issued, this Congress instructs its Parliamentary Committee to convene a joint conference of miners' representatives and all those associations of colliery enginemen, boilermen, and surfacemen who are promoting amendments to the Mines Regulation Act, immediately after the report of the Royal Commission is issued, in order that they may arrive at a common agreement as to the future legislation necessary for the greater safety of the mine workers of the country.

He said the miners of the country were glad to admit that no class of men were of more importance to their industry than the engine winders, who were most anxious for legislation to promote greater safety. That was quite natural in view of the responsible character of their occupation; but until the Royal Commission on Mining Accidents had issued its report the miners did not desire to press forward legislation. They did not think the Government would be prepared, while the Royal Commission was sitting, to facilitate the progress of legislation on behalf of the mining community. They had brought home to them from time to time by some terrible accident the need for legislation for the safety of life and limb. They could not allow their members to be killed year after year without a protest and an effort to put a stop to it; and they recognised that the men's lives would never be safe while mining was carried on for profit.

Mr. T. WATSON (Enginemen) seconded, and said the question of the enginemen's and boilermen's hours ought to be kept prominently before the delegates, before the Press, and before the public at large. It was understood that the eight-hour system was enforced in some places, but hundreds of men were working on what was called the twelve-hour system. Unfortunately the present Act made no provision as to the number of hours these men should work. He had worked 60 hours at the handle, and then left 500 men in the mines. They had something in common with the miners, and as practical men they were pleading for shorter hours. He hoped they would stick together until they got an eight-hour day for all workers in the mines.

Mr. W. HOPKINS (Enginemen) said there were men in charge of engines upon whom the lives of a thousand men depended working for 24 hours at a stretch; and unless they did their duty they were called into the police-court after working all those hours. Something ought to be done by way of legislation to remedy that unsatisfactory state of things. The same thing was happening to the men in charge of boilers. These long hours placed the lives of a large number of men in grave danger.

The resolution was carried.

MINERS' EIGHT-HOURS BILL.

Mr. W. BRACE (Miners' Federation) moved:—

Seeing that the Miners' Federation has agreed to accept the Government's Miners Eight Hours Bill with slight amendments, this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to assist the miners in their endeavour to get the Bill passed into law during this Session of Parliament.

He said the Congress would be well aware that before the House adjourned the Bill was submitted to a Committee in the House of Commons, and that two days had been given for the consideration of the Bill in detail. He did not attempt to tell Congress that much progress had been made. As a matter of fact, it seemed to him, as one of the members of that Committee, that the opponents of the Bill exhausted themselves in trying to defeat the measure altogether, instead of trying to beat it into practical shape. The promotion of the Bill had cost the Miners' Federation many thousands of pounds; and, having carried the resolution, he hoped the delegates would return home determined to do their utmost to prevent votes being cast in favour of candidates who were opposed to the Miners' Eight Hours Bill. They pleaded before Congress for some measure of practical sympathy—a sympathy meted out to them as a class every time there was a great colliery disaster, but which was too often withdrawn when this matter was brought forward. They asked that these men should not be kept in the bowels of the earth working in an artificial atmosphere longer than was necessary to obtain the amount of coal required by the community. It was interesting to note, in connection with the last fatal mining explosion, that 15 or 18 lives would have been saved if the Bill had been in operation.

Mr. J. BAKER (Enginemen) formally seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

CHECKWEIGHERS' BILL.

Mr. J. WADSWORTH, M.P. (Miners' Federation), moved:—

That the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to assist the Miners' Federation in pressing their Bill in the House of Commons to remove the legal disabilities of colliery checkweighers.

He said they were in the awkward position they now occupy on account of the judges' interpretation of the Act of Parliament in reference to checkweighing. Previous to the Mines Act of 1887 being put upon the Statute Book the miners and the coal owners had a joint meeting in London to see how far they could agree upon the terms of that measure; and it was only necessary for him to say that as far as that Joint Committee was concerned it was never intended or understood that the checkweighers should be put in the position they now occupy, for the checkweighers were now responsible not only for what they might do when they were on the colliery premises, but for actions committed or alleged to have been committed when they were away from the colliery altogether. When they were away from the pit they should have the same privileges under the law as any other individual.

Mr. A. ONIONS (Miners' Federation) seconded, and said the original intention of the law was not to interfere with the freedom of the checkweighers when performing their duty as Trade Union officials, or in any other capacity while off the mines; but the law had been interpreted against the checkweighers when off the mines altogether. It was most important that they should be able to utilise these men in connection with their organisation, and that they should have full liberty for the discharge of their duties as secretaries to the lodges or as committeemen; and he was quite sure Congress would help them to secure that reasonable measure of reform.

The resolution was carried.

EVICCTIONS DURING DISPUTES.

Mr. R. SMILLIE (Miners' Federation) moved:—

That this Congress protest against the brutal and unjust action of certain employers of labour in evicting workmen from their homes during strikes or lock-outs, and we instruct the Parliamentary Committee to draft a Bill on this question, to be introduced in the House of Commons at an early date.

He said the necessity for some action being taken, for some measure to be passed into law, was growing from year to year. The railway servants in this country and the mining community were especially affected by the power of the employers to evict them from their homes during a strike or lock-out. But women and children were not in any way responsible for the disputes; and the patience and courage of the men were severely tried by the brutal attack of the employers upon them. Old men and women were thrown out in the winter with nowhere to lay their heads; and little children were removed in their cradles, with the full force of the Crown to back up the proprietor in his cruelty. They had 50 Labour Members in the House of Commons, and he was quite sure that if any of their families were being evicted from their homes because of a dispute they would do all in their power to prevent business going on in Parliament.

Mr. D. GILMOUR (Miners' Federation) seconded the resolution, and reminded Congress that the Government of the day had frequently been pledged to pass legislation to put an end to this most cruel and inhuman weapon wielded by the employers. It was his duty to thank the members of the Parliamentary Committee, more especially Mr. Steadman and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, whom he saw upon the platform, for the efforts they had made to lessen the evil. They had secured some protection against eviction in Scotland under an old law.

The resolution was carried.

COMPULSORY INQUIRY INTO DISPUTES.

Mr. D. C. CUMMINGS (Boilermakers) moved:—

In view of the necessity of preventing industrial disputes involving lengthened stoppage of work, and consequent loss to all parties concerned, this Congress is of opinion that the time has now arrived when the provisions of the Conciliation Act of 1896 should be strengthened in the direction of conferring compulsory powers on the Board of Trade to inquire into any industrial dispute when requested by either party. Pending such inquiry and report no strike or lock-out shall take place. Congress hereby instructs the Parliamentary Committee to take whatever steps they may deem advisable to bring the foregoing into law.

Strikes, he observed, nearly always resulted in the defeat of the workers; and he ventured to predict, with some little knowledge of the subject, that when they came

to hear the result of the preceding day's meeting in connection with the north-east coast dispute, that the strike had again failed to establish what the men set out to secure—a minimum wage of 36s. In addition to the strike they had the lock-out to contend with, which was one of the most brutal weapons that could be used against the workers of the country. At various periods they heard the threat of a lock-out from one end of the country to the other. The Act under which the Board of Trade intervened wanted strengthening in the direction that would compel the parties to have their case investigated even with the consent of only one of the disputants. He was not at the moment advocating compulsory arbitration; but there could be no objection to having a compulsory inquiry before a dispute actually commenced.

Mr. A. WILKIE, M.P. (Shipwrights), seconded, and remarked that the subject of compulsory inquiry had not been before Congress in the same manner before. It had now been brought forward because the experience of the last few months, particularly in the shipbuilding trades, had disclosed the unsatisfactory nature of the existing state of things. The shipbuilding trades were recognised by their employers. They had, in fact, been recognised for nearly a century; they met the employers time after time, and year by year, and so far as their trade (shipwrights) was concerned they had not had any great strike for 30 years. In the present case, when they discussed the questions at issue with the shipbuilding employers, they asked for a reduction of wages. The men's representatives wanted to know why they asked for it at the end of a boom year. They wanted some proof that if they accepted the reduction on behalf of the men more trade would, as was contended, come along. That proof was not forthcoming. The proposal was that the Board of Trade, on behalf of the Government, should have power to investigate the point at issue before the dispute commenced. There ought to be some neutral chairman or court to which the workmen would have the right to apply so as to secure facts and figures, as the Canadian workmen were able to do. He was satisfied that 95 per cent. of the disputes would never start if there could be a fair and full inquiry beforehand.

Mr. J. H. WILSON (Sailors and Firemen's Union) said he should have to record his vote, although with some reluctance, against the resolution. And he could not help thinking that, although Mr. Wilkie was not yet in favour of compulsory arbitration, he was rapidly drifting along in that direction. He stood by the principle of the right of the workman to quit work whenever he chose. If they were not careful the time would come when the men would be compelled to work against their will. He could not understand how Congress could be expected to vote for a resolution of the character now proposed, and he must enter his protest against it.

Mr. T. SHAW (Northern Weavers) also spoke in opposition to the resolution, first of all because he did not know what it exactly meant, and secondly because neither the mover nor the seconder had taken the trouble to explain it. He was also going to oppose the proposition because of what he thought it meant. He was secretary of a branch of his union containing some 6,000 members, who worked in places containing from 50 to 400 members. Just let them imagine the machinery of the Government being put into operation in the case of a dispute affecting only 25 members before they could tender their notices! The Government of the country was not the body to have control of their fate in that fashion.

Mr. J. B. STEVENS (Tin Plate Workers) advised the delegates to reject the resolution on the ground that it would take from the workers the power to defend their rights.

Mr. J. H. THOMAS (Railway Servants) supported the resolution, and said that it might be inferred from the remarks of some of the speakers that all strikes went in the men's favour. Mr. Havelock Wilson deprecated Government interference, but in his admirable efforts on behalf of a very deserving class he had made a very strong appeal to the Government himself. There was never a week passed without Mr. Wilson appealing to Mr. Winston Churchill; and yet he deprecated the interference of the Government. The resolution did not ask the workmen to give up the power to strike; but general experience had shown them that even when they did win a dispute it brought such misery and suffering in its train that took years to wipe out. All they asked was that a court of inquiry should give the workers an opportunity for obtaining information that was not to-day procurable.

Mr. T. E. NAYLOR (London Compositors) sincerely hoped the resolution would not be passed. The last speaker had stated that they were not being asked to surrender their right to strike, but could he not recognise the fact that while they were waiting for the Board of Trade to institute an inquiry the employer would be making his preparations in order to defeat the union which had entered into negotiation with him? And even while the inquiry was taking place it was just possible that the contractor would be contracting with foreign labour to take the place of the British labour with which he was in opposition. The mover and the seconder of the resolution were secretaries of important Trade Unions, and they must know that their negotiations with the employers were largely strengthened by the fact that they could force home their arguments, because the strike and the fear of the strike were appealing to the employer at the same time. The friends of the resolution said the majority of strikes were unsuccessful; but what about the great number of demands that were secured without striking? If by passing the resolution they were to be told that they should no longer have the power to tell the employer that the men should leave work unless they got what they wanted, they were going to prevent the peaceful settlement of 50 per cent. of the disputes. He hoped the day was far distant when Trade Unionists should give up the power which the threat of a strike always possessed as a peaceful persuasion to the employer to accede to their demands.

Mr. J. JENKINS, M.P. (Shipwrights), said he was rather afraid that those who were opposed to the resolution misunderstood its purpose. He did not think the proposer was anxious to sacrifice any great principle, and its supporters were just as anxious as anybody else to strike when they deemed it necessary to do so. In his own trade on the north-east coast the men said there was no necessity for the reduction of wages; and the employers said there was a reduction in the volume of work. That was why they wanted the Board of Trade to be able to intervene whenever notice of reduction was given by the employers or notice of an advance by the employed. Books could then be brought forward, and an independent man could extract the necessary facts for the purpose of determining on which side would rest the responsibility for the subsequent struggle.

Mr. D. C. CUMMINGS (Boilermakers), in reply, said one or two of the delegates seemed to have missed the point of the resolution altogether. He declared that, while only about 33 per cent. of the strikes were successful, lock-outs always succeeded. Opposition to the resolution must come from men who feared inquiry into the justice of their cause; and he thought a great boon would be conferred upon the Trade Unionists of the country if the compulsory power to intervene as suggested were conferred upon the Board of Trade.

The resolution was lost upon a show of hands; and a vote by card resulted as follows:—

For the resolution	616,000
Against	978,000

Majority against 362,000

INDUSTRIAL APPEAL COURTS.

Mr. C. W. BEARDSLEY (Railway Servants) moved:—

That this Congress, realising the continual victimisation of members of Trade Unions, primarily in consequence of their activities as representatives of their fellow workers, is of the opinion that Industrial Appeal Courts should be established, and the Parliamentary Committee is hereby instructed to draft a Bill on these lines and introduce same into the House of Commons, with a view to it becoming law, as early as possible.

He said it was desirable that men who had been victimised through a dispute should have their case impartially inquired into; and he was inclined to think that if the Court of Inquiry proposed were instituted it would do away with the practice of victimising altogether.

Mr. W. MOSSES (Patternmakers) seconded the resolution, and said he took a very much broader line than the mover. He thought the resolution should apply to all trades. He quite realised that the evil complained of was a difficult matter to deal

with, but the difficulty of a subject never prevented Congress from taking it up, and the Parliamentary Committee had always done its best to make the decisions of the delegates effective. Men were frequently being blacklisted and prevented from securing employment, and that practice must be made as rare as possible. They knew that some of the larger trades had made victimisation impossible, but they also believed that the conditions prevailing among the railway servants were much worse than they would be if they had an opportunity of making their grievances known to the employers. They had heard of the case of the man who was victimised by the Co-operative Wholesale Society. Now, they acknowledged that the C.W.S. was in many respects a fair employer; but because a man who had been granted leave of absence 19 times gave evidence to the Joint Board which affected the C.W.S. on the twentieth occasion he was dismissed. Efforts were made to get the man reinstated, but without success. If that were so with respect to a body like the Co-operative Wholesale Society the condition of affairs with respect to private employers and their workpeople must be very much worse.

On a show of hands the resolution was declared to be carried, and a vote by card resulted as follows:—

For the resolution	978,000
Against	642,000
Majority for	336,000

COMPULSORY CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.

Mr. BEN TILLET (London Dockers) moved:—

This Congress appreciating the important advance in productive efficiency, and a proportionate increase in wealth, views with alarm the monopoly of capital, property, and productive means by a few to the detriment of the workers and the nation as a whole. In view of the grave national danger to trade and the suffering imposed by lock-outs and strikes, this Congress heartily affirms the principles of arbitration and conciliation, both voluntary and compulsory, in trade disputes. For the purpose of making effective the wage-earners' demand for an equitable adjustment of national wealth to national necessity, this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to prepare and present to Parliament a Bill embodying conciliation and arbitration as recognised and practised by nations in international disputes, with full powers of investigation, together with authority enforced by local governing administrations, also the forms and precedents established among capitalists through such bodies as the London Chamber of Commerce for arbitration.

(1) The proposed Bill shall provide a Court, with authority to enforce a Contract Law, making inviolate all union funds.

(2) The Court shall determine a minimum wage, and shall have power to punish any infringement of awards, by fines, imprisonment, and payment of compensation to the victimised worker.

(3) The formation of Wages and Industrial Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration in all large industrial centres. Such committee to undertake on request of parties to a dispute: investigation as to data, facts, and cause of dispute, to determine settlements and awards.

(4) Courts to be constituted by an equal number of workmen and employers' representatives, the former to be selected under the auspices of the Parliamentary Committee, from affiliated membership of the Congress. Where not mutually agreed upon by contending parties, the Labour Department of the State shall appoint chairman or referee.

(5) The Court shall confine its operations to the affiliated membership of the Congress and shall be divided into two sections defining: (a) voluntary conciliation and arbitration; (b) compulsory arbitration.

All employés of the State or municipality who shall be organised in a union shall be eligible for registration under either of these sections, and shall be under no disability as compared with the employés of private firms for the purpose of such conciliation and arbitration. Option to be left to unions to register under either section.

He said it was his misfortune to be some 16,000 miles away when the resolution was discussed by Congress last year; but there had been some compensating advantage in being in a country where an Arbitration Act was in operation, and he had been able to obtain information upon the subject that was not available in this country. He

hoped he would be able to meet the many intelligent and strong opponents of the proposition upon a public platform, and he threw out that challenge to them all. He proceeded: I realise that this is the most conservative assembly in the United Kingdom, if not in the whole world; and I recognise that it contains a good number of industrial Jingoos. They have "got the ships, and got the men," and they are going to fight every time. But they never fight in committee, because there they are legislators and administrators. Our good friend Ward is a peace-maker. As I said some time ago, he is a war-maker when there is peace, and a peace-maker when there is war. But our friend Ward represents the intellectual section of the peace-makers. Now, I want you to scan the statement of our worthy President here, who is a robust representative of the Labour Party, and a very decent one, too. But, after all his Parliamentary experience, he holds his hands up in horror at the thought that you may return to the old days when there were legal enactments in connection with Labour disputes. Either we have grown with the years or we have not. Either the Labour Party is in the House of Commons to get measures upon the Statute Book or it is not. If the Labour Party is not in the House to get every measure for the protection of Labour they have no right to be there and accept the workers' pay. It is a humiliating fact that we can estimate our position to-day as only equal to what it was 100 years ago. "You will take away the mighty weapon of the strike," I am told. My resolution neither says that nor means it. Compulsory arbitration does not take away the right to strike. You can use your miserable pop-gun against the twelve-inch gun of the capitalist. You need not join this scheme unless you like; but those of you who do not like it can surely allow those to join in whose eyes it finds favour.

Mr. J. O'GRADY, M.P. (Furnishing Trades), seconded the resolution, and said he realised that the gravest danger to the social well-being of the workers to-day lay in the dominating power of capital; and unless they were prepared to place some check upon that power, a form of slavery would be fastened upon the working classes such as the world had never yet seen. During the last 15 years there had been no single case where the workers had beaten the capitalists upon the national field; and he did not think the time was coming when Labour would ever win again. If they could not get what they wanted by force they should seek to beat the employer with his own weapon, by the force of intelligence rather than by the physical impact of numbers.

Mr. W. BRACE, M.P. (Miners' Federation): Ben Tillet is nothing unless he is picturesque; and he comes before us to-day as the picturesque swashbuckler, challenging men in this Congress to go outside and fight him. I wonder what he means by his reference to industrial Jingoos. But of all men in this Congress I stand agast that he should come before us as the mouthpiece of peace, almost of peace at any price. What does he stand for politically? He stands for fighting political seats, and he does not care whether he wins or loses. He does that to educate the country in the principles for which he stands. It is ridiculous to argue about the ineffectiveness of the strike. We fought for six months in Wales, and were starved, beaten, and driven into work on the employers' terms. But mark the sequel. Out of their tremendous defeat the Welsh miners erected perhaps one of the best Federations in Britain or the world; and then, side by side with that, we established our Conciliation Board. To talk about the value of a Trade Union in respect to its number of fights and wins is to misconceive the enormous power of Trade Unionism altogether. The primary function of a standing army is not to fight but to maintain peace.

Mr. J. CUTHBERTSON (Metal and Tube Workers), supported the resolution, and pointed out that the employers were more united and wealthier than ever before. Combinations of almost unlimited extent were arising, and the workers were not making anything like a proportionate advance.

Mr. J. H. WILSON, M.P. (Sailors and Firemen), said he could not understand Mr. O'Grady's statement that the workers had lost every strike in recent years. It was true that the Welsh miners suffered defeat, but their defeat led to their ultimate victory and emancipation; and that was true also of other parts of the United Kingdom. In the shipping trade they had been trying for many years to get the employers to meet them in arbitration; but they had declined to do so under any circumstances. But he believed the time would come when the shipowners would be

only too glad to meet the sailors and firemen whom they despised to-day. He belonged to a class of men who could not quit work without going to prison for twelve weeks; and they did not want any more shackles placed upon them.

Mr. H. ORBELL (London Dockers) said there were others to be considered in connection with a fight besides those actually engaged in it. The miners did not want Government interference; but how would they get on without the mines regulations, which were the outcome of Government interference? But the joke of the lot was Mr. Havelock Wilson, who objected to Government action. For he was prepared to call in Government support to raise the diet scale on board ship, and to bring about a manning scale, and to extend the scope of the Compensation Act so as to embrace the sailors. All that was Government support, and yet Mr. Wilson said he did not want it! Would Mr. Wilson deny that arbitration had benefited the sailors of New Zealand?

Mr. J. H. WILSON, M.P. (Sailors and Firemen): Yes, I can say at once that the men are anxious to get rid of it.

Mr. W. HARVEY, M.P. (Miners' Federation) said Mr. Tillet had given the whole of his case completely away by stating that only in the States where compulsory arbitration existed in Australia was Trade Unionism strong. It was just those people in this country who had not got strong unions who were asking for something to be done in this direction. He (Mr. Tillet) wanted the State to do for him what he could not do for himself. Out of his own mouth he stood condemned. There were things in this world that they could not afford to arbitrate upon. The right of man to live by his labour was beyond arbitration altogether. He was surprised at the lack of sincerity that surrounded the whole movement for compulsory arbitration. One of the greatest conflicts the employers ever had was with the Miners' Federation. For 17 long weeks they fought for a living wage. They were told it was against the laws of political economy to make such a demand. Arbitration and conciliation were against them; but they declared that men had a right to live in summer and winter, whether trade was good or bad. And by their own effort, after 17 weeks, they won the battle; and from that day to this they had secured the minimum wage.

Mr. J. WHITEHEAD (Brassfounders) said he was pleased to hear some of the leading men in the Labour movement advocating compulsory courts, for that was a step in the direction of compulsory arbitration. He was in favour of arbitration all the time, before the strike began and afterwards. If they could not secure arbitration with the consent of the employers they must get it compulsorily.

Mr. C. FREAK (Boot and Shoe Operatives) said he had always favoured international arbitration. It might be to the advantage of some of the smaller unions to ask the State to step in and effect a settlement on equitable lines; but it was simply impossible to have compulsory arbitration in the trades. In his own trade a court of arbitration had been established, and it was a point of honour with both sides that the decisions should be accepted.

Mr. BEN TILLET, in reply, emphasised the point that no union was compelled to be a party to the scheme propounded in the resolution against its will. If, as Mr. Havelock Wilson said, the New Zealand sailors were discontented, they were discontented on twice the money that the English sailors were receiving.

A card vote resulted as follows:—

For the resolution	645,000
Against.....	1,099,000
Majority against.....	454,000

Congress adjourned until Friday morning.

FIFTH DAY.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11th.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 9-30, and the minutes of the previous day's proceedings were read and confirmed.

THE TRADE UNION EDUCATION POLICY.

Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P. (Gasworkers), moved :—

In view of the sacrifice of child life resulting from the capitalistic system, this Congress urges the organised workers to continue their efforts to secure Parliamentary and municipal recognition of the Trade Union education policy, which demands as essential to a minimum of well-being for our future citizens :—

- (1) The State maintenance of school children.
- (2) Scientific physical education with *individual* medical inspection and records of the physical development of all children attending State schools, and skilled medical attendance for any requiring it, and in order to secure this the following proposals should be carried into effect :—
 - (a) The development of the recently formed Medical Department at the Board of Education, the head of which shall be directly responsible to the Board of Education, to whom he shall report annually.
 - (b) The payment of an adequate grant from the Imperial Exchequer for purposes of medical inspection and for the establishment under every Education Authority of properly equipped centres for medical treatment.
 - (c) The establishment under every Education Authority of scientifically organised open-air recovery schools, the cost to be borne by the community as a whole, and not in any part by charitable contributions.
- (3) The complete dissociation of reforms (1) and (2) from Poor Law administration.
- (4) That secondary and technical education be an essential part of every child's education, and secured by such a reform and extension of the scholarship system as will place a maintenance scholarship within the reach of every child, and thus make it possible for all children to be full-time day pupils up to the age of 16.
- (5) That the best intellectual and technical training be provided for the teachers of the children, that each educational district shall be required to train the number of pupil-teachers demanded by local needs, and to establish training colleges, preferably in connection with universities or university colleges.
- (6) That the provision of educational buildings and facilities be obligatory upon the local authority, who shall always retain administrative control of the buildings and facilities so provided.
- (7) That the cost of education shall be met by grants from the Imperial Exchequer, and by the restoration of misappropriated educational endowments.
- (8) Therefore it be an instruction to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress to formulate these proposals in a Bill to be laid before Parliament during the forthcoming session.

He said : The resolution is somewhat different from the one that was placed upon the Agenda last year. We then had the secular clause attached to it; but, in consequence of there being some difference of opinion upon the group that considered the question, it was decided to leave out that clause and bring it up as a separate proposition in order to have a clear vote. Personally, I should like to have seen the resolution brought forward as it appeared upon the Agenda. A great number of people in this country misunderstand the position of the Socialists with regard to the secular education question. Many people believe that simply because a man is a member of the Socialist party and in favour of secular education he is a Secularist and an Atheist. That is perfectly untrue. Religion is purely an individual question, and never enters into the discussions of our branch meetings. In regard to the State maintenance of the children, I am glad we are not receiving the objections to-day against the feeding of the children which were formerly received. Many people now think that the time is ripe when the children should receive at least one meal per

day. The little trouble that occurred in Glasgow the other day forced the city authorities to come together in the speediest manner possible, and they have decided to give the children three meals per day in the schools. We were told the other day about the vast amount of poverty the delegates witnessed during the church parade on Sunday in the streets of Nottingham. But that is nothing new. Eighteen years ago the poverty was quite as deep as now, and no notice was taken of it. I do not see why we should penalise the children at all. Under the circumstances it would be a dozen times better if the children became refractory, as they would then be well looked after in the reformatory schools. I am not concerned about the cost at all, especially when I remember that 4,000 people died last year who left £200,000,000 of property. I am opposed to all kinds of competitive scholarships, because it is perfectly evident that if a man receives £3 per week he has a better chance of tutoring his children than a man in receipt of £1 per week. This resolution has received the approbation of a very large number of the working classes in all parts of the country. Meetings have been held in large industrial centres, and all are agreed that if we are to build up a better type of men and women than we have to-day we must begin with the children in the schools. I want to know why the children of the working class should not have the same chance as the children of the rich. The working classes are the real wealth producers, and have to feed and maintain the children of the wealthy classes. It is about time we began to feed and clothe our own children.

Mr. J. GRIBBLE (Boot and Shoe Operatives) seconded, and said they all knew quite well that the ignorance of the workers was the most serious obstacle to their effective organisation. It had been pointed out by one cynic that you could always get one section of the workers to shoot the other down. That would not be possible if their children were properly educated.

Mr. J. CROSS (Accrington Weavers) said he would like to have seen the clause which dealt with the number of scholars applied to each class in the elementary schools. He did not think it possible for a teacher, no matter how well equipped he might be, to do justice to himself or his pupils under the existing circumstances. The result was that a large number of their children came out of school at the age of 13 and 14 very far from satisfactory from an educational point of view. After they had been away from school a year or two they forgot all they had been taught.

Mr. W. RYALL (National Gasworkers) claimed that it was impossible to educate children properly unless they were properly fed. They had listened on the previous day to arguments as to the best method of settling trade disputes. Some believed in arbitration, while others favoured the strike. What had been the hardest fight of the men who had struck in the past? It was to go home and see their children practically starving. They ought to see that the children were better fed, so that they would be better able to fight the masters for better conditions.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

IN FAVOUR OF THE SECULAR SOLUTION.

Mr. G. H. ROBERTS, M.P. (Typographical Association), moved :—

This Congress urges the organised workers to continue their efforts to secure Parliamentary and municipal recognition of the Trade Union education policy, which demands a national system of education under full popular control, free and secular, from the primary school to the university.

He said: The secular solution is a question which has to be delicately handled, because there is nothing more calculated to inflame passion, obscure the issues, and chloroform the intellect than what is called the religious question. It is really a theological question, and has nothing whatever to do with religion. We object to the State interfering with what is a private and individual matter. Unfortunately, I am compelled to think that those who are at the present time fostering this question are not doing so from disinterested motives. The governing classes are glad to see any apple of discord thrown into our midst in the hope that we may be set at each others throats. It is utterly impossible to reconcile the conflicting interests of the various sects of the community. Then why waste our time and energy in an impossible task? Parliament has twice tried, without success, to solve this baffling problem. I

particularly appeal to my Nonconformist friends. I was brought up in a Nonconformist home; but I am bound to recognise that Roman Catholics and others regard Bible teaching as a form of secularism. They are not prepared to accept it, and the only way out of the difficulty is to be found in the resolution.

Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P. (National Gasworkers), formally seconded.

Mr. J. SEXTON (Liverpool Dockers): I recognise, and have always recognised, that I take up a very unpopular position in opposing the introduction of secular education; but I do it for more than one reason. First of all, because I consider, and my constituents consider, that it is a distinct breach of faith with those who have deep religious convictions to introduce anything of a secular character like this. The people I represent are 75 per cent. Catholic. They joined the Labour movement for Labour purposes. Had they been asked to join it with the idea of introducing secularism into the schools they would have kept out of the movement altogether. Thorne says that Socialists are not necessarily Atheists. I endorse that; I am a Socialist myself. But it is not what Mr. Thorne says or thinks that we are troubling about so much. It is what the bad Atheists are doing.

Mr. J. H. THOMAS (Railway Servants) reminded Mr. Sexton that neither he nor any other Roman Catholic should forget that the Anglicans and Nonconformists were quite as much in earnest over this matter as themselves. He did not pay much attention to the declaration that if this resolution were passed a large number of Trade Unionists would secede from the Labour movement. The same thing was said when the Labour Party was formed. There was no attempt to interfere with the religion of anyone in the resolution. Religious teaching could be given, and probably would be given, after school hours, to the children of every denomination.

Mr. L. PARK (Northern Weavers) contended that Congress had no right to interfere with the religious question in any way. They should allow everyone to have their own opinions undisturbed. The time would come when they would not be able to afford to have divisions in their ranks; but the resolution would certainly cause division.

Mr. W. MILLERCHIP (Lock and Key Makers), supporting the resolution, said he believed it would tend to the solidarity of the Labour Party by removing from the schools the question of the religious teaching of their children. The sooner religion was removed from the sphere of secular education the better it would be for all concerned.

Mr. F. BOWER (Operative Stonemasons) pointed out the desirability of leaving out religion from the business of the Labour movement, and recalled the remarkable object lesson which Belfast had recently provided by forming a strong Trade Union organisation through the sinking of religious differences.

Mr. T. SHAW (Northern Weavers) ridiculed the idea that those who were in favour of the secular solution wanted to attack somebody's religion. Mr. Sexton referred by inference to the conduct of certain Atheists. That picture could be turned round. Some of them could remember Catholics doing things during elections that they ought not to have done. They must have religion removed from the schools, and leave every man to have his child taught the religion he deemed best.

Mr. J. CRINION (Card and Blowing Room Operatives) wanted to know why, if there was going to be so much pleading for solidarity in the Labour movement, they found men holding aloof from the education question. He thought it was because they knew that if they took the secular solution up they would be retarding the solidarity of the movement. He therefore thought that, instead of coming forward with a secular proposition, they should set up a standard of efficiency and let the schools be put outside that could not reach it. He entered his strong protest against the introduction of the religious question into their debates.

Mr. F. KENNEY (Nut and Bolt Makers) did not think it right to introduce religious questions into the discussions of Congress. They must try to educate the children without introducing religion. He thought the delegates should confine themselves to the work of seeing that the children were properly taught and fed.

Mr. A. G. CAMERON (Carpenters and Joiners) said they knew in Scotland that the laird or squire was the God of the village, and there was always trouble when the priest or the parson was brought in. Whatever they chose to think on religious

questions was a matter between the individual and his God, and the State had no right to interfere. The children could be taught religion on the lap of the mother or on the father's knee at the fireside. He supported the resolution.

A card vote resulted as follows:—

For the resolution	1,433,000
Against.....	131,000
Majority for.....	1,302,000

THE NEXT PLACE OF MEETING.

The PRESIDENT: The Parliamentary Committee recommend you Ipswich as the next place of meeting for Congress. They believe good work will be done if you go there.

Congress agreed that the 1909 assembly should be held in Ipswich.

THE SOUTH SHIELDS CASE.

Mr. J. N. BELL (National Union of Labour) made a statement in regard to an action which had been fought on behalf of his society. He said that in October last a number of the members in South Shields decided to strike against the employer of a number of men, and instructed one of their officials to inform him of their decision. The workman against whom objection was taken was removed by the employer. He could have been reinstated, but did not choose to adopt that course. In the result, he brought an action against the officials of the union for causing his dismissal. He was awarded £50 damages, and an appeal was lodged after the damages had been paid into court with other side's taxed costs. They were not even allowed to pay them into the hands of their solicitor; and they had to guarantee the plaintiff's costs on the higher scale before commencing the appeal. In the Divisional Court the case was again decided against the union. Then they went to the Appeal Court, where the verdict was unanimously reversed in the union's favour. Two of the judges made it quite clear that they delivered judgment for the union against their will. But, although the union was entitled to the taxed costs which were paid in the lower courts, as well as their own costs, there was little chance of getting them because they were not protected. Already the union had been involved in costs amounting to something like £500, and the other side had been given until the 22nd October to decide whether they would appeal to the House of Lords. If that were done he thought they as a union were entitled to appeal to the Parliamentary Committee for some assistance.

The PRESIDENT: We thought it best that Mr. Bell should make his statement. On behalf of the Parliamentary Committee, I have to say that if the appeal of the man goes forward we shall make an appeal to the trades in the usual way for financial assistance.

THE SENTENCE ON MANCHESTER RIOTERS.

Mr. J. R. CLYNES, M.P. (National Gasworkers), moved:—

That this Congress approves of the efforts now being taken to mitigate the sentence of twelve months' imprisonment imposed upon men in the unemployed agitation in March last, and strongly urges the Home Secretary to sanction the early liberation of these men.

He said that in March last bands of unemployed workers gathered together in some of the squares of Manchester, and were driven by the action of the police and the weather into hole-and-corner meetings. Eventually they found themselves in the house of one of the leaders, and there indulged in some wild and foolish threats as to what they would do if their wrongs were not redressed. One of their number, who had been 24 times in gaol according to his own confession, and who since his evidence against the men had been twice imprisoned, declared that the men had decided to destroy property, break windows, blow up the House of Commons, kidnap the Lord Mayor, and a number of intentions of that character. Instead of the court taking into consideration the quality of the violent language, they construed the acts and threats of the men in a very serious light, and they were indicted for conspiracy. A

number of them had destroyed property. They broke windows in Market Street. He did not support those acts of violence, nor seek to excuse them; but he claimed for these men that they were smarting under a sense of their wrongs, and that their acts were not the acts of conspirators who deliberately destroyed property. They deliberately destroyed some property to give themselves a chance to make property by the employment of their labour. They had brought the matter up in the House of Commons, and he was pleased to say that the Home Secretary had adopted a sympathetic attitude towards the appeal that had been made to him. He thought they might express some surprise that greater leniency had not been displayed by the Recorder of Manchester. Since the conviction of the men similar offences had been punished with much lighter sentences.

Mr. BEN TURNER (Batley Weavers) formally seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

ABOLITION OF HALF-TIME DEMANDED.

Mr. F. W. DAWTRY (Steam Engine Makers) moved:—

That this Congress is of the opinion that the time has long since arrived for the total abolition of the "half-timer" in our educational system as being cruel and unjust to the children and future citizens, absolutely wasteful both morally and financially, and a standing blot upon our professed civilisation, and one that must be removed before we can have a really educated people in its truest and highest aspect.

He declared that all the advocacy as to the feeding and sound education of the children was reduced to the merest farce so long as they sent the children to school in the morning and to work in the afternoon. To his mind it was a standing disgrace to Congress that the half-time system had been allowed to exist right up to the present moment. He had been informed that he was likely to upset the textile workers by this resolution. He could not help thinking that many of their resolutions were framed or whittled down to suit the predominant partners; and he had taken a hand in the matter because he thought the textile workers needed strengthening in the good position they had taken up in consenting to an additional year being put upon the age limit.

Mr. J. STOKES (London Glass Blowers) seconded the resolution, and said it was no use talking about technical education or the extension of the school period while the half-time system remained. Child slavery in factories and shops would have to be abolished before anything could be done to improve matters generally.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

HIGHER EDUCATION DEMANDS.

Mr. P. WALLS (Blastfurnacemen) moved:—

That this Congress, while emphatically affirming that no solution of the educational problem will be satisfactory that does not give free education from the elementary school to the university, demands the immediate abolition of fees in secondary schools and technical colleges, and that the Parliamentary Committee use all the influence possible to this end.

He was surprised that so little notice had been taken of this part of the education problem by leading Trade Unionists during the past two years. The secondary schools, almost entirely unseen by the working classes, were being surely and effectively closed against the working man's child. The reason he felt so much upon the subject was that he had been for eleven years upon a School Board and for six years upon an Education Committee, and had noticed what was taking place, and he regretted exceedingly that they were allowing this to be done and taking no notice of it.

Mr. BEN TURNER (Batley Weavers) seconded, and said that it was quite as difficult to teach a young child as it was to teach elder scholars. The tradesmen were complaining bitterly about the rise in the rates, which they attributed to the cost of elementary education; but the cost of each scholar in the elementary school was only one-half the cost of the scholar in the secondary school. With regard to the latter, it was true that 25 per cent. of scholarships were placed at their disposal, but those free entries were competed for by everybody. They claimed to have absolutely free and full mental and physical education, and desired no class distinctions such as were now being forced upon them by the Education Department.

Mr. T. A. FLYNN (Tailors) supported the resolution, and said he thought pressure ought to be put upon the Education Department to abolish the fees for the secondary schools altogether.

The resolution was carried.

PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM.

Mr. J. C. GORDON (Tin and Iron Plate Workers) moved :—

This Congress strongly condemns the modern method of increasing the output by the introduction of the premium bonus system of working, regarding it as utterly opposed to the principles of Trade Unionism, inasmuch as it creates a form of sweated labour and acts as a factor in increasing the number of unemployed, and hereby recommends that societies should use every effort to stop the further development of the system, also to take steps to abolish it wherever it has been introduced. That the Parliamentary Committee deputise the Admiralty and War Office to protest against the introduction or extension of the premium bonus system in these Departments. Seeing that at the last Congress the delegates almost unanimously expressed their condemnation of the premium bonus system, this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to call a conference of societies affected to consider what steps can be taken to abolish this system.

He explained that the majority of men had to work either upon piecework or the premium bonus system in the engineering shops. The idea was to get the very highest production out of a man. In the first place the firm engaged a gentleman whose business it was to spend his time in the workshop overlooking the men at their work, and making a particular note of the time allowed for each job. They were known as operator inspectors. The firm having secured accurate knowledge as to the time a certain job took fixed the time which they thought it ought to take. Suppose they fixed six hours as the time to be allotted for a certain job they would go to a man and offer him a proportion of all the time saved out of those six hours. If he did the job in four hours the firm, with magnificent generosity, would make him a present of half the time saved. He much regretted that any trade had accepted this bonus system. His own society had condemned it. They had made great sacrifices, indeed, in maintaining their position, and they asked Congress to condemn the system with no uncertain voice.

Mr. J. W. CLARKE (Scientific Instrument Makers) seconded, and said that if there were any arguments in favour of the maintenance of the bonus system they should let the other societies in conference have the benefit of them. The system had lately been introduced into the dockyards of Chatham and Portsmouth.

The resolution was carried.

THE APPOINTMENT OF FACTORY INSPECTORS, ETC.

Mr. H. ORBELL (London Dockers) moved :—

This Congress is of opinion that the regulations for the appointment of factory inspectors should be so amended as to provide for the appointment of men with a practical experience of the operations of loading, unloading, and coaling of ships. That a uniform ladder should be adopted for ships' holds. That all unhealthy vapours and dusts developed by working processes in any occupation should be eliminated by vacuum or suction or other effective method, and a Government statistical report with the number of deaths, accidents, and cases of illness caused by industrial occupations should be issued annually by the Labour Department.

He said that they had lately asked that the grainworkers, the men engaged in discharging grain, should be included in the dangerous section of the Workmen's Compensation Act. They could prove that 19 per cent. of the men working in grain were victims to asthma. The Committee could not see their way clear to grant their request because there was not a man prepared to come forward for examination. In the discharging of pitch fuel and pitch coal they proved that 43 per cent. of the men were troubled with a specific complaint. He sincerely trusted that something would be done to remove the troubles complained of.

Mr. J. ANDERSON (Stevedores) seconded, and observed that some few years ago the Factory Acts were applied to the operation of loading and unloading ships. When that took place they had very great hopes of the results, but they had not been

fulfilled. The Act had been successfully applied in some of the factories, but it had certainly been a miserable failure so far as the stevedores were concerned. He would give them one instance of the way it operated. When the regulation came into force he found a vessel that was ignoring it; and he sent notice to his Majesty's Inspector of Factories seven miles away at Westminster. No notice was taken of their letter, and the ship went away, returned, and actually made two voyages to the Cape and back to London. He had entirely forgotten the whole thing when a gentleman, very nicely dressed, walked into his office and asked if he were Mr. Anderson. That was nine months after he had written to the Inspector, and the gentleman told him that he had just been appointed Inspector of the Eastern District, and had recently come across the letter. He told the gentleman that the bottom of the ship might have dropped out so far as he knew, and that he had not the slightest idea where she was. Moreover, if that was the best the Inspectors could do he thought they might manage to get on without them altogether.

The resolution was carried.

REFORMS REQUIRED IN TEXTILE FACTORIES.

Mr. W. MULLIN (Card and Blowing Room Operatives) moved:—

That this Congress is of the opinion that all working in paper, cotton, worsted, flax and hemp factories, and bleaching and dyeing works should be prohibited between noon on Saturdays and six on Monday mornings, excepting work done in repairing machinery; that apparatus must be provided for the carrying away of dust and cotton fibres in cotton carding rooms, and that it should be a penal offence to place machinery in any factory or workshop in a position such as to be dangerous to the workers employed on such machinery, and further, that stringent regulations should be made in all cases where women are employed in laborious, dusty, and unhealthy trades, and that women should not be permitted to work at metal polishing, turning, or screwing.

We are also of the opinion that the present staff of factory and workshop Inspectors is insufficient to properly carry out the duties placed upon them, and urge the Government to appoint future Inspectors from men and women having a practical knowledge of the trades to be inspected.

This Congress further emphatically condemns the practice known as "time cribbing" in textile factories, whether done by employers or employed, and declares that it should be made illegal for dwelling-houses to be used as workshops.

And the Parliamentary Committee is hereby instructed to use their best efforts to secure the application of the above-mentioned reforms.

He said that the second part of the resolution particularly affected the workers in his own organisation. At the present time the dust that was generated was far greater than was the case when the old machines were in use, and it was a common thing to see men incapacitated from working in their department when 30 years old. Many firms had adopted one or more of the ingenious mechanical contrivances that had been introduced lately; and they asked that the Home Office should be requested to make it compulsory that some scheme should be adopted whereby the health of the workers might be improved.

Mr. ALLEN GEE (Textile Workers) seconded, and said that the mover of the resolution had only dealt with the fringe of the argument which could be brought to bear upon the necessity for an amendment of the Factory Acts. When he told them that the worsted industry was never considered to be in a flourishing condition unless the machinery was running from Monday morning at 6 o'clock, or in some instances even from a few minutes after midnight on Sunday, until the following Saturday, they would readily understand one reason at least why they were so anxious for a Bill of this description. Some years ago the woolcombers of Bradford took some figures as to the number of accidents which occurred in their particular industry on Saturday afternoons; and he remembered at the time it was stated that more accidents took place on Saturday afternoons than during the whole of the rest of the week put together. That was accounted for from the fact that the men worked during Friday night, and they did not go home on the Saturday morning, because they had to start again at 12 noon when the women and children stopped work; and they lounged about in the neighbourhood in the meantime, and got into such a condition that they would be much better off in bed by the time they started their Saturday work. No employer would deny that there was a good cause for the action now contemplated; but the present

state of things was persisted in because it enabled the work to be produced more cheaply than would otherwise be possible.

MISS MACARTHUR RAISES A POINT OF ORDER!

Miss M. R. MACARTHUR (Women Workers' Federation): Upon page 23 of the agenda there is an amendment moved to the resolution No. 6, entitled "Female Labour," which contains a sentence designed to prevent the employment of female workers in metal polishing. On a point of order, surely that amendment is in order?

The PRESIDENT: Yes, it must be in order; and I suggest that the resolution and amendment be referred back to the Grouping Committee. If there is an amendment, no Grouping Committee has the right to take it out.

It was agreed to refer the matter back.

TRADE UNION OFFICIALS AND CORONERS' INQUESTS.

Mr. G. MOORE (Enginemen's Federation) moved:—

That this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to introduce a Bill giving power to Trade Union officials to attend coroners' inquests and Board of Trade inquiries with respect to accidents where their members' interests are concerned, with power to cross-examine witnesses and ask for any evidence they may think necessary; and that no inquest or inquiry be held, except a formal inquiry for burial purposes, until the Trade Union concerned has been enabled to arrange for an official to be present. Such notice to be given by the person holding the inquest or Board of Trade inquiry, as it is manifestly absurd and grossly unfair that the attendance of the representatives of the deceased person should be left to the discretion of the coroner.

He said the coroners were absolute autocrats in their own courts, and there was little doubt that injustice was often done to the workers of this country because they could not have their representatives in court to ask questions when the cause of their death was being inquired into. They knew that a declaration had been made that in a large number of counties the coroner would allow the attendance of Trade Union officials; but they did not want any favours, but asked as a right to be allowed to look after the interests of their members.

Mr. S. W. ROWARTH (Enginemen and Firemen) seconded the resolution, and said that, so far as his members were concerned, every assistance was given by the coroners. That, however, did not prove that there should not be a legal right for the Trade Union officials to attend inquests.

Mr. J. G. HANCOCK (Miners' Federation) said that the Nottingham and Derby miners were practically in possession already of what the resolution asked for. The resolution, indeed, did not go so far as they thought it ought to go. They felt that better facilities ought to be given to the relatives of the killed workmen to be medically represented at the *post-mortem* examinations.

The resolution was carried.

WAGES IN GOVERNMENT DOCKYARDS.

Mr. T. HEWITT (Boilermakers) moved:—

That the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to interview the Admiralty with a view of getting them to pay the various trades and grades employed in the building of Government vessels in his Majesty's dockyards not less than the rate of wages that is mutually agreed upon between employers and employes doing similar work in the several shipbuilding centres in the United Kingdom, and that they also be instructed to approach the Admiralty with the view to obtaining the departmental consent to recognise as mechanics all those workmen in his Majesty's dockyards who are doing similar work to that undertaken by the various grades of mechanics in the private shipbuilding centres of the country. Failing to obtain their consent, to then endeavour to get the question raised on the floor of the House of Commons. That the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to interview the Home Secretary with a view to obtaining the consent of the Home Department issuing a general order to insist upon employers giving detailed pay lines to all workers working at piece prices.

He said he did not think it necessary to produce any argument in support of the resolution, which spoke for itself.

Mr. J. JENKINS, M.P. (Shipwrights), formally seconded the resolution, which was carried.

TRADE UNION RATES AND PRICES.

Mr. C. HICKIN (Tin Plate Workers) moved :—

In the opinion of this Congress it is essential that the Fair Wages Resolution should be amended by the substitution of the words "Trade Union rates and prices" in the place of the words "current rate," and that the term "workman" should include clerks, and it be an instruction to the Parliamentary Committee to act with the Labour Party in drafting a resolution to this effect and have it brought before the House of Commons with a view of its insertion in all Government contracts.

The very fact, he said, that the Government had appointed a Committee of Inquiry into the working of the Fair Wages Resolution of the House of Commons as applied to Government contracts went to prove that the question was of some importance to Trade Unionists. There was no doubt that a vast amount of sweating was going on through the contravention of the Fair Wages Resolution. He must say that through the action of the Parliamentary Committee matters had been improved, but things were not yet what they ought to be.

Mr. J. W. CLARKE (Scientific Instrument Makers) seconded the resolution, which, he said, had so often been discussed already that it would only be waste of time to go into details on the present occasion.

The resolution was carried.

INFORMATION AS TO GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.

Mr. W. MILLERCHIP (Lock and Key Makers) formally moved :—

This Congress, recognising the value of receipt of tender forms for Government work, regret the refusal of officials of Departments to supply the names of firms to whom contracts are given, and urge upon the Parliamentary Committee to press responsible Ministers as to the need of supplying such information to Trade Union officials as a safeguard against sweating contractors who do not comply with the Fair Wage Clause."

Mr. J. W. TAYLOR (Midland Federation) formally seconded.

The resolution was carried.

LEGAL MINIMUM WAGE.

Miss M. R. MACARTHUR (Women Workers' Federation) moved :—

That this Congress reiterates its opinion in favour of the establishment of Wages Boards to fix a legal minimum wage in sweated industries, and calls upon the Government to give facilities during the autumn session for the final stages of the Sweated Industries Bill, introduced by Mr. George Toulmin, M.P., and unanimously read a second time in the House of Commons this year.

She felt sure that if they were to have legislation on the point indicated they could make it abundantly clear that it would not be satisfactory if it did not include the female factory worker. They believed that the establishment of a legal minimum wage would be a powerful weapon to assist them in organising the worst paid women workers. If it was only a means for helping the workers to help themselves it would be acceptable.

Mr. G. ROWLERSON (Woolwich Tailors) seconded the resolution, and said that the Government had admitted that the garments the British soldier walked about in could not be produced for 3s. 6½d. even in their own factories; yet, by issuing contracts, the same garments could be made for 1s. 4½d. The Government fixed the standard of value of everything except human flesh and blood. These sweated workers were in a helpless condition so far as effective organisation was concerned; and he would challenge such unions as the Miners' Federation, whose representatives talked so strongly about the need for organisation, even to discover where the work went to for the Army and Navy.

Mr. T. GRIFFITHS (Steel Smelters) supported the resolution, pointing out that it had been admitted even by political economists that there was no reason why the women workers should not be properly paid.

The resolution was carried.

MINIMUM WAGE FOR GOVERNMENT WORKERS.

Mr. A. HARRIS (Labour Protection League) moved:—

That this Congress reaffirms its belief in the justice of the Government workers' demand for Trade Union rates of wages in all trades, and a minimum wage of 30s. for a 48-hour week for adult workers in the London district, and again instructs its Parliamentary Committee to take active steps to secure this, by placing a resolution down in the House of Commons for discussion on the introduction of Estimates in the forthcoming Session of Parliament.

He said that there were several municipal bodies in London who were already paying their employés 30s. per week; and if Congress declared that 30s. should not be the minimum that standard would probably be reduced by three or four shillings per week. The resolution was confined to Government workers; and they contended that the State, which pretended to be a model employer, should pay a fair wage to ensure a minimum of comfort to its workers.

Mr. P. DONOVAN (Labour Protection League) seconded the resolution. He said he had received 30s. per week in London, and knew exactly what it was to support a wife and three or four children on that sum.

THE BOILERMAKERS' AMENDMENT.

Mr. T. HEWITT (Boilermakers) moved the following amendment:—

Delete the words "and a minimum wage of 30s. for a 48-hour week in the London district."

He failed to see how the previous speakers could claim the right to force a resolution like the one they had proposed upon Congress.

Mr. D. COLLINS (Boilermakers) seconded the amendment. They were all agreed that the minimum wage should be 30s.; but on behalf of the skilled artisans in the Government dockyards he opposed the resolution.

Mr. W. F. DAWTRY (Steam Engine Makers) said he objected to the Congress being used for a certain set of people, the Government workers. The Government workers had never assisted others much in the way of contributions, and therefore he intended to vote against the differentiation of one set of men from another. Practically speaking, they were all Government workers.

Mr. R. DAVIES (Municipal Employés) said the only thing he could understand from the speakers was that if the Government fixed the minimum wage at 30s. per week it would interfere with the higher paid workmen. Now, 14 of the 28 London boroughs, to the best of his knowledge, had passed a resolution fixing the minimum wage at 30s. per week for all the men in their employ; and Battersea had also declared for a 48-hour week. In the whole of his experience he had never known the raising of the minimum wage to prejudicially affect the higher paid workmen.

Mr. G. H. STUART (Postmen's Federation) said it was not true to say that the Government workers did not support the Trade Union movement. On the contrary, they had given it every possible support. The mover of the amendment and the speakers thereto had entirely missed the grip of the resolution. The fixing of the minimum wage prevented the underpaying of the less skilled artisans without interfering with the remuneration of those in receipt of higher wages; for the higher minimum wage was a help to the establishment of a higher maximum.

The amendment was rejected, and the resolution was carried by a large majority.

ABOLITION OF PIECEWORK IN EXPLOSIVE WORKS.

Mr. A. HARRIS (Labour Protection League) formally moved:—

That this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to again press home to the Government, either by deputation to the War Minister or discussion in the House of Commons, the abolition of fellowship piecework in the manufacture or manipulation of explosives in the danger buildings at Woolwich Arsenal, and to substitute in its place a day-work system based on a weekly wage of 36s. minimum for a 48 hours' week.

Mr. P. DONOVAN (Labour Protection League) formally seconded.

The resolution was carried.

MINIMUM WAGE FOR CLERKS.

Mr. H. H. ELVIN (National Clerks) moved :—

That this Congress is of opinion that clerks should be in receipt of the following minimum wage at 21 years of age : 35s. per week for London and provincial towns, 27s. 6d. for rural districts ; and instructs the Parliamentary Committee to interview the Government authorities, and to do what they can to get clerks employed by the Government, on reaching the age of 21, at least the minimum rates of wages recognised by the National Union of Clerks.

If clerks were to live at all decently, he said, it was absolutely necessary that they should receive a minimum wage of 35s. per week in London and 27s. 6d. in the provincial districts. Of course, he knew that some of the Government clerks were exceedingly well paid, but there were others who were not. In the dockyards, for instance, the wages ranged from a minimum of 24s. to 30s., and there was one section of the clerical workers who started at 24s. and never went beyond a maximum of 26s.

The resolution was carried, and
Congress adjourned for luncheon.

AFTERNOON SITTING.

DEBATE AS TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN RESUMED.

Mr. J. W. CLARKE (Scientific Instrument Makers) moved to strike out all words after "unhealthy trades," which read as follows :—

And that women should not be permitted to work at metal polishing, turning, or screwing.

He argued that it was not right to single out three operations from which women workers should be excluded. If it was bad for them to do screwing, it was equally bad for them to do milling or work the lathe ; and there were many other trades of which the same might be said. They should declare that women ought not to be employed in the metal trades at all, if they said anything. The resolution ought to be more definite, and say precisely what kind of work women should be kept away from.

Miss M. R. MACARTHUR (Women Workers' Federation) seconded the amendment to delete the references to women in the resolution, which she described as an extraordinary one. She was amazed that any suggestion of the kind should be made. Perhaps she should not be surprised that it had emanated from the brassworkers, because there was something peculiarly appropriate in the brassworkers being identified with so impudent a proposal. If the competition of women was to be got rid of in that way, why did they not go further and propose the entire abolition of female labour ? Nay, why not propose the abolition of woman altogether ? The problem of female competition was not to be solved by a resolution of this kind. The only way was for the men to assist them in organising the women as the cotton operatives had done. They should receive the same money as the men for the same class of work. They had lately been trying to get the women in effective organisations, and they had not received the assistance from the men which they had a right to expect.

Mr. W. J. DAVIS (Brassworkers), moving the resolution, said : You will observe that the etiquette of Congress decrees that we should not unduly resent what the lady delegates may say. But we know that in our trade the women are put to work that is not fit even for men ; and yet we have a lady delegate getting up to defend it ; and not only a lady delegate, but a representative of the brassworkers, defending the employment of women in trades that make them look like sweeps, and far more unhealthy. Our friend the mover of the amendment says, "Why not stop women working altogether in the metal trades ?" Because we are not so unreasonable. The women in the pen trade have always had that branch of the industry, and we have never competed with them. But we do oppose their employment in the departments

mentioned in the resolution. I am surprised and disgusted that there should be any woman in this country defending the practice of allowing women to work at a trade that unfits them to be sweethearts or mothers. It is not that the employers want to find the women work. They are set on because they will work at 8s. per week instead of the 38s. which a man would receive. We have to superannuate our polishers at fifty-five years of age, or they would get nothing; and yet a woman gets up here and says women ought to have the right to work in trades that kill men! Only the other day we had a little girl scalped who was receiving 4s. per week; and if the beautiful hair of woman is not her crowning glory and stock-in-trade, what is?

Mr. J. CRINION (Card and Blowing Room Operatives), in seconding the resolution moved by Mr. Davis, said he was not going to claim any practical knowledge of the trade that Mr. Davis had spoken of; but he could say, from a lifetime's experience of the cotton operatives, to whom Miss Macarthur had alluded, that there was no analogy whatever between the women workers in that branch of industry and the women employed in the brass trades. He did believe that it would not be to the credit of any man to support the employment of women in such dirty tasks as were common in the brass trades. He concluded by referring to the need for greater precautions against accidents in connection with the machinery in the factories, and for stronger safeguards against the prevalent custom of "time-cribbing."

Miss J. VARLEY (Textile Workers) pointed out that there were other trades quite as bad as the brass trades. The men should assist the women in the work of organising if they wanted to do away with the unfair competition. She hoped they would go on taking the same interest in women as they had displayed that afternoon.

Mr. J. TURNER (Shop Assistants) supported the amendment, and said the men only complained about the employment of women when their own privileges were interfered with. They should welcome the women as co-workers, but ask them to stand out for equal pay. He welcomed anything that helped to give women their economic freedom, and, after all, it was for woman herself, and not Mr. Davis, to say whether she was willing to be a sweetheart or mother.

Mr. J. WHITEHEAD (Brassfounders) said if the women were going to operate in the brass finishing business their systems would be poisoned from the start, and Miss Macarthur's energies would be better directed towards finding women more suitable employment.

A card vote resulted in the amendment to strike out the reference to women being carried by 791,000 to 685,000. The resolution as amended reads as follows:—

That this Congress is of the opinion that all working in paper, cotton, worsted, flax and hemp factories, and bleaching and dyeing works, should be prohibited between noon on Saturdays and six on Monday mornings, excepting work done in repairing machinery; that apparatus must be provided for the carrying away of dust and cotton fibres in cotton carding rooms, and that it should be a penal offence to place machinery in any factory or workshop in a position such as to be dangerous to the workers employed on such machinery, and further, the stringent regulations should be made in all cases where women are employed in laborious, dusty and unhealthy trades.

We are also of the opinion that the present staff of Factory and Workshop Inspectors is insufficient to properly carry out the duties placed upon them, and urge the Government to appoint future inspectors from men and women having a practical knowledge of the trades to be inspected.

This Congress further emphatically condemns the practice known as "time cribbing" in textile factories, whether done by employers or employed, and declares that it should be made illegal for dwelling-houses to be used as workshops.

And the Parliamentary Committee is hereby instructed to use their best efforts to secure the application of the above-mentioned reforms.

DEMAND FOR A LEGAL EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Mr. H. SKINNER (Typographical Association) moved:—

Having regard to the many and various economic changes and general speeding-up adopted in all classes of industry, and their consequent effect upon unemployment, this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to draft a Bill for the adoption of a legal eight hours per day, or 48 hours per week, and further, that it be an instruction to the Parliamentary Committee to hold demonstrations in all parts of the country with a view of educating public opinion upon this all-important question.

He said the demand for the legal eight-hour day had been supported up and down the country for years past. In fact, 15 years ago its enactment was regarded as probable. But, although they had not yet secured the eight-hour day, the agitation had helped the miners in their attempt to get a similar enactment for their own industry. He hoped the demonstrations in various parts of the country on behalf of the shorter week would not be merely a spasmodic affair, and referred with satisfaction to the fact that the Typographical Association had been able to secure the 48-hour week for their composing-machine operators.

Mr. F. FREEMAN (Stonemasons) seconded the resolution, and said they had spent thousands of pounds in attempting to lessen the hours of labour, but when they had done so through the unions the members had been victimised and sent about their business. That was why they wanted the Parliamentary Committee to go up and down the country to educate the public in favour of the eight-hour day.

Mr. J. W. EASTWOOD (Railway Servants) said he was afraid the railway workers had very little prospect of securing the eight-hour day for themselves. Since their agitation began some of the men had actually been put back from the eight-hour standard to a day of ten hours. With all their agitation in the country they failed to make any progress with this question.

Mr. G. ROWLERSON (Tailors), while supporting the resolution, said it should be understood that the enactment of an eight-hour day would do no good so far as the unemployment question was concerned, unless they also dealt with the overtime question. When men got shorter hours they had a disposition to fall over one another in their attempt to work overtime.

Mr. J. CRINION (Card and Blowing Room Operatives) said his society had declared for the eight-hour day, and if they glanced at the newspapers they would find that the employers were seeking to reduce the earnings of the cotton operatives in order to restrict production; but during the past ten or twelve years he did not believe they had averaged more than eight hours a day.

Mr. W. HARVEY (Miners' Federation) said they had no objection to other trades having their 48 hours per week, and they would assist them to get it. But the miners wanted eight hours per day, not 48 per week. If they carried the resolution the masters would insist on a 48-hour week.

Mr. C. F. DAVIS (London Compositors): Mr. Harvey cannot have read the resolution. It declares for an eight-hour day or a 48-hour week.

The resolution was carried.

HOURS OF LABOUR IN BAKEHOUSES.

Mr. J. JENKINS (Bakers and Confectioners) moved:—

The House of Commons having refused to adopt the principle of an eight-hour working day for all trades and industries, the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners have decided to re-introduce their Hours of Labour (Bakehouses) Bill in the next session of Parliament, and hereby ask the support of this Congress in their efforts to have the measure placed on the Statute Book. Further, ask the Parliamentary Committee, through the Congress, to introduce the Bill, and give it their best support in the various stages during its passage through the House of Commons.

He said there was some objection to their Bill on the part of the employers, but they could afford to wait provided they could get it through its second reading. It was urged that the reduction of hours would increase the price of bread, but he did not think it could possibly be increased by more than one farthing per 4lb. loaf.

Mr. H. WILLIAMS (Bakers and Confectioners) seconded, and thanked the Parliamentary Committee for trying to secure the second reading of the Bill, which would do much towards thinning the ranks of the unemployed bakers.

Mr. H. EMERY (Bakers and Confectioners), supporting the resolution, ventured to think that no better experiment with the 48-hour week could be tried than by applying it to the baking trade.

The resolution was carried.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO SHOPS.

Mr. J. A. SEDDON, M.P. (Shop Assistants), moved:—

This Congress welcomes the pledge given by the Government on May 1st to introduce in the next Session of Parliament legislation dealing with the question of shop hours, and emphatically declares that no Bill will be acceptable to the workers which does not provide for the compulsory closing of shops and the limitation of hours of labour on the lines of Sir Charles Dilke's Shops Bill. Further, this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to actively assist in bringing pressure to bear on the Government with this end in view.

He expressed the thanks of the shop workers for the help Congress had extended to them in recent years, and if they could rely upon the promise of Cabinet Ministers they would have legislation dealing with the question next year. It was no longer necessary to advance reasons for the alterations in hours which they desired. The reports of Royal Commissions and medical testimony had been given in their favour, as also had the judgment of the House of Commons.

Mr. J. TURNER (Shop Assistants) seconded the resolution. He said the present Government had recently issued the report of a Commissioner who had been sent out to Australia to inquire into the conditions of the shop workers there. He found the hours of the shop assistants in New Zealand to be 52 per week. They were allowed to work nine hours per day on four days, eleven hours on one day, and five hours on the other. If in New Zealand, with its scattered markets, the people could get their supplies in within the 52 hours, it was quite possible that the people of England could be supplied in less time.

The resolution was carried.

EVILS OF THE LIVING-IN SYSTEM.

Mr. J. TURNER (Shop Assistants) moved:—

This Congress, believing the "living-in system" is bad for health, bad for morals, bad for the growth of individuality, and is economically unsound, declares in favour of its abolition, and as a step in this direction urges the Government to promote a Bill to extend the provisions of the Truck Acts, 1831-1896, to all shop assistants, warehousemen, and clerks. Further, this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to include this question in the subjects dealt with by their deputation to Ministers.

Under the living-in system, he said, the thousands of men and women affected had not even the protection of the common tramp, for there was no inspection of the accommodation provided for them. They had found the cost of the food supplied was not more than 3s. per head, but the employers declared that the cost was 15s. per head. Cheap labour, therefore, was the reason for the retention of the system. The men were not able to get married except secretly, and every one knew what the concomitant of enforced celibacy was.

Mr. G. THUNDERCLIFFE (Bakers and Confectioners) seconded the resolution, and said that shop assistants were working in rural districts for 10s. per week with board and lodging; and these men were constantly being drawn upon by the employers in the large centres on account of their cheapness.

Mr. J. A. SEDDON, M.P. (Shop Assistants), said he would appeal to the moral force of the country against the perpetuation of a system which compelled boys to occupy rooms with men and listen to their conversation during their most impressionable years. He knew that hundreds of men were ruined in body and soul through the pernicious system.

The resolution was carried.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Mr. W. J. DAVIS (Brassworkers) moved:—

That this Congress, representing members of affiliated societies who are over 70 years of age, and many of whom are superannuated, while believing that no final settlement of the old age question can be brought about unless the pension of 5s. per week, payable at 60 years of age without examination and non-contributory (although that amount is inadequate for a healthy standard of living), thanks the Prime Minister and

the Government for the statesmanlike Budget by which many old veterans of industry will be benefited; further, in the interests of provident habits, this Congress trusts that the Government will recognise that those who have sacrificed part of their earnings for superannuation and sick benefits should not be deprived of the State pension. And that in the case of persons who by reason of the affliction of blindness are rendered incapable of earning their living the age limit be entirely removed.

He said: This is the greatest piece of legislation, excepting perhaps the Disputes Act, which gave vitality to the unions by protecting their funds, that has been put upon the Statute Book within my memory. The importance of this measure does not lie in the age limit or any of the conditions surrounding the scheme; but in the scheme's non-contributory character. You will have sufficient influence in the country to see, at the next General Election, that no candidate is returned to Parliament who is not pledged to bring down the age limit and improve the conditions. We have got a start, and I am one of those who think that we should acknowledge the worth of a Government that stands by the people and commences an experiment which is going to be a great boon. Not only those of 70 years of age will derive the advantage of this scheme, but those who support their aged mothers and fathers, who will have the 5s. per week coming in.

Mr. BEN TILLET (London Dockers) seconded. He said he did not believe in any final settlement of the question, and he was not at all anxious to thank the Government for passing the measure. He thought 5s. per week was a wretched sum to give. Most of their Cabinet Ministers lighted cigars at that price, and they would not think much of a dinner that did not cost more. He would like to see old age pensions at 50. It was a rare thing, indeed, to see a man of 50 years of age amongst the dockers. The fact that the Government had granted this privilege to the workers must be recognised; but to thank the governing classes, to thank the people who had withheld every form of comfort and decency from the people, was an act of courtesy on the part of Congress that almost partook of the nature of flunkeyism. They had been charged with representing the drunken and thriftless on this question. When they remembered that men like Lord Cromer and Mr. Chaplin talked about thrift they had to admit, at all events, that Mr. Chaplin was an excellent authority on thriftlessness. As for Lord Cromer, he had been a Nabob in Egypt, and no country ever gave a man greater power than he had wielded. He had been in every one of the contracts; and when he came home they gave him a fortune and pensioned him. And then the ungrateful old humbug called the rest of them names!

Mr. G. H. STUART (Postmen's Federation) thought if there was any thanking to be done they should thank themselves, but not the Liberal Government, or any other Government, for what they had wrung out of them. They had secured old age pensions because they were strong enough to get them from either Government, Liberal or Tory. The resolution was extremely vague. It would not do them any good; but it did give an underserved testimonial to the Liberal Government, and for that reason he should oppose it.

Mr. A. E. CHANDLER (Railway Clerks) said he should oppose the resolution. Mr. Tillet had damned it better than he could. It declared that no settlement would be final unless 5s. be paid at 60. Then it went on to say that 5s. was inadequate. How could it be final or satisfactory if the money payment was inadequate?

Mr. T. E. NAYLOR (London Compositors): I formally move that this resolution be referred back to the Grouping Committee for the purpose of redrafting.

The reference back was seconded and agreed to.

THE DOCTRINE OF COMMON EMPLOYMENT.

Mr. J. WOOD (Stevedores) moved:—

That it be an instruction to the Parliamentary Committee to introduce into Parliament during the next Session a Bill to amend the Employers' Liability Act, 1880, so as to bring about the abolition of the doctrine of common employment.

He said they found it difficult, under existing circumstances, to get compensation for their members in case of injuries. The defending barrister frequently inquired of the plaintiff if he had made application under the Act for half his wages; and they had often been non-suited for answering a simple question of that kind. The system of common employment to which they objected had gradually crept in. Instead of

the superintendent taking the responsibility for the work, he distributed the work among several gangs of men, and thus took away from the workman his right to obtain compensation.

Mr. J. ANDERSON (Stevedores) seconded the resolution, and said they desired to remove the disability under which they now laboured of being unable to prove whether or not the accident was due to the negligence of a fellow workman. The gangs were made up without the men being consulted, and they were therefore not responsible in any way.

The resolution was carried.

CERTIFICATES FOR MINDERS OF STEAM ENGINES AND BOILERS.

Mr. H. PARKER (Enginemen's Society) moved:—

This Congress is of opinion that all persons in charge of engines and boilers, who are directly under the control of the Home Office or the Board of Trade, shall be compelled to obtain certificates of competency, and that the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to support and press forward the General Bill, as endorsed by them during the past year. The Parliamentary Committee to have power to delete or extend any portion of the Bill deemed desirable.

He submitted that they were asking for nothing that was illogical or contrary to the best interests of the community. So far as ocean-going vessels were concerned, the Board of Trade insisted that men placed in charge of an engine or boiler should possess a certificate of competency; and, as the lives in the factories and mines were just as valuable as those on board ship, the principle should be extended to all engines and boilers, whether on land or sea.

A DELEGATE declared that the National Society of Enginemen, which kept this matter before Congress for thirty years, had agreed the other day that all legislation in connection with enginemen in and about collieries should be left over until the report of the Royal Commission on Mines had been issued.

The PRESIDENT: This Congress has agreed to nothing of that kind. The resolution is quite in order.

Mr. T. WATSON (Enginemen's Federation) seconded, and said it was time some test of efficiency was applied to the men in charge of engines and boilers.

Mr. W. B. CHARLTON (Engine and Boilermen) said his federation would oppose the resolution because of the arrangement that had been come to. His organisation, which represented Scotland, the North Midlands, Durham, Derbyshire, Nottingham, Somerset, Shropshire, and Cumberland, had agreed that the question of enginemen's certificates should wait until the publication of the Royal Commission's Report, and under a composite resolution they had asked for a meeting of all the interested trades. If the Parliamentary Committee, acting according to the instructions in the resolution, drafted a Bill covering mines along with agriculture and railways and factory engines, they would be left out, and that would be to the injury of the men in the mines. In any case, he hoped the mines would be left out of the resolution.

Mr. H. PARKER (Enginemen's Society), in reply, said the business in relation to the resolution had been considered by the Group Committee, and no agreement had been come to with regard to it. Mr. Charlton knew perfectly well that that was the truth. The members of his own society had thousands of workers in their charge; they represented 50,000 men, which Mr. Charlton's union did not; and he hoped he was not going to be challenged any further upon the question.

The resolution was carried.

OLD AGE PENSIONS—NEW RESOLUTION.

The PRESIDENT announced that the old age pensions resolution now read as follows:—

That this Congress is of opinion that the Compensation Act will not be satisfactory until amended so as to provide for a minimum pension of 5s. per week, without conditions, to men and women of 60 years of age; and, in the case of persons who by reason of their affliction of blindness are rendered incapable of earning their living, the age limit to be entirely removed.

The resolution was carried unanimously without discussion.

NATIONALISATION OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS.

Mr. T. LOWTH (Railway Workers' Union) moved:—

That this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to bring in a Bill at the earliest possible date, with a view of nationalising all railways and canals in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

He said the railways of the country were run for the benefit of the directors and officials to a far greater extent than for the workers or the public. Therefore it was best to nationalise the railways, so that the public and the servants would receive better treatment.

Mr. P. WALLS (Blastfurnacemen) seconded, and took it for granted that the majority of the delegates understood the necessity for the nationalisation of the railways.

Mr. J. WILSON, M.P. (Miners' Federation), declared that if railways were nationalised they would have a much better service as passengers, and the trades would be greatly helped by cheaper rates. The present system was characterised by gross mismanagement.

Mr. J. H. THOMAS (Railway Servants) said a lot of good intentioned people were opposed to the nationalisation of the railways because they thought the absence of competition would throw hundreds of men out of work. But competition between the companies to-day was being eliminated to the detriment of the workers. When the people were intelligent enough to send a sufficient number of men to Parliament to nationalise the railways they would be able to see that the interests of the workers were properly protected.

The resolution was carried.

THE WORKMEN'S TRAINS BILL.

Mr. C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P., (London Compositors), moved:—

Pending the nationalisation of railways and canals, the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to endeavour to keep the Board of Trade to their promise, made to the Parliamentary Committee in January last, that the Government intended to introduce their Workmen's Trains Bill next year.

He said the Parliamentary Committee interviewed Mr. Lloyd George upon this matter when he was President of the Board of Trade and had received satisfactory assurances. If the resolution were passed, as he was sure it would be, they would seek an interview with Mr. Winston Churchill, with the view of getting him to take up this pressing matter. In London, owing to the inadequacy of the cheap train services, thousands of girls were compelled to go to the City much earlier than they needed to for business purposes and idle about the streets. Perhaps he ought to pay a tribute to the clergy of London for opening their churches for the accommodation of the people who were thus compelled to leave home in the early hours of the morning. He mentioned the large sums that the railways received from the Government by way of remission of passenger duty—over one million sterling per annum—and declared that for that vast sum they were not fulfilling their contingent liabilities.

Mr. W. RYALL (Gasworkers) seconded, and hoped that when the Government did bring in its Workmen's Trains Bill later trains would be run.

The resolution was carried.

Congress adjourned until Saturday morning.

SIXTH DAY.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12th.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 9-30, and the minutes of the previous days proceedings were read and confirmed.

RESULT OF THE ELECTIONS.

The result of the elections was announced as follows:—

	Votes.
PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.	
GROUP 1.—BOILERMAKERS AND IRON AND STEEL SHIPBUILDERS:	
Mr. D. C. CUMMINGS, J.P. (Boilermakers, etc.)	—
GROUP 2.—BUILDING TRADES (One required):	
Mr. F. CHANDLER, J.P. (Carpenters and Joiners)	1,449,000
Mr. E. E. Burns (Plumbers' Association).....	179,000
GROUP 3.—COTTON OPERATIVES:	
Mr. W. MULLIN J.P. (Card and Blowing Room Operatives)	—
GROUP 4.—DOCK LABOURERS, STEVEDORES, CRANEMEN, ENGINE- MEN, ETC. (One required):	
Mr. T. WATSON (National Federation of Enginemen and Stokers).	872,000
Mr. J. Sexton (National Union of Dock Labourers).....	829,000
GROUP 5.—GASWORKERS AND GENERAL LABOURERS (One required):	
Mr. W. THORNE, M.P. (Gasworkers and General Labourers).....	952,000
Mr. J. Ward, M.P. (Navvies, Builders' Labourers, and General Labourers)	709,000
Mr. A. J. Bailey (Amalgamated Labour), withdrawn	36,000
GROUP 6.—METAL WORKERS (One required):	
Mr. W. J. DAVIS, J.P. (Amalgamated Brassworkers)	1,415,000
Mr. J. C. Gordon (Tin and Iron Plate Workers)	93,000
Mr. P. Walls (Blastfurnacemen, etc.), withdrawn	69,000
GROUP 7.—MINERS:	
Mr. J. HASLAM, M.P. (Miners' Federation)	—
GROUP 8.—PRINTING AND PAPER TRADES:	
Mr. C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P. (London Compositors).....	—
GROUP 9.—RAILWAY SERVANTS:	
Mr. R. BELL, M.P. (Railway Servants)	—
GROUP 10.—WEAVERS:	
Mr. D. J. SHACKLETON, M.P. (Northern Associated Weavers) ...	—
GROUP 11.—MISCELLANEOUS TRADES (Six required):	
Mr. A. WILKIE, M.P. (Associated Shipwrights).....	1,381,000
Mr. J. B. WILLIAMS (Musicians' Union)	1,249,000
Mr. W. MOSSES (United Patternmakers).....	1,189,000
Mr. J. A. SEDDON, M.P. (Shop Assistants, etc.)	1,167,000
Mr. H. GOSLING (Watermen and Lightermen)	1,022,000
Mr. M. ARRANDALE, J.P. (United Machine Workers)	898,000
Mr. B. Cooper (Cigar Makers)	746,000
Mr. C. Freak (Boot and Shoe Operatives).....	487,000
Mr. T. A. Flynn (Amalgamated Tailors)	454,000
Mr. G. T. Jackson (Tramway and Vehicle Workers)	380,000
Mr. W. F. Dawtry (Steam Engine Makers)	149,000

AMERICAN DELEGATION (Two required).

Mr. A. H. GILL, M.P. (Cotton Spinners' Amalgamation)	877,000
Mr. J. WADSWORTH, M.P. (Miners' Federation)	807,000
Mr. H. Skinner (Typographical Association)	723,000
Mr. S. Fisher (Cardiff, Penarth, and Barry Coal Trimmers)	377,000
Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P. (Gasworkers and General Labourers), withdrawn	164,000

CO-OPERATIVE DELEGATION (One required).

Mr. G. SIMPSON (Auxiliary Society Male Lace Workers).....	927,000
Mr. J. W. Ogden (Northern Amalgamated Weavers).....	611,000

AN OBJECTION TO ONE OF THE CANDIDATES.

Mr. F. KILKELLY (Liverpool Dockers) raised an objection to the return of Mr. T. Watson in Group 4 on the grounds which he desired to hand up to the platform.

The PRESIDENT said the protest was signed by Mr. Kilkelly, Mr. Orbell, and Mr. Ben Tillet; and the objection was raised that Mr. Watson's society was part of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation; further, that he was a member of the Miners' Federation; and that the Federation of Cranemen and Enginemen by whom he was nominated contained a society known as the Locomotive Engineers, which had transferred itself from Group 9 (to which as railway servants they really belonged, and to which they were originally allocated by Congress) to Group 4 without the consent of Congress or of the Parliamentary Committee.

The PRESIDENT suggested that the objection should be left for the Parliamentary Committee to deal with, and this course was adopted.

DEMAND FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF LAND.

Mr. BEN TURNER (Batley Weavers) formally moved :—

That in the opinion of this Congress, and in the interests of the whole community, the time has arrived when the land should become the property of the nation, and thereby cease to be monopolised by a few people.

Mr. J. W. ALLEN (Gasworkers) formally seconded.

The resolution was carried without discussion.

EX-SOLDIERS AND SAILORS IN THE POST OFFICE.

Mr. S. W. BELDERSON (Postal Clerks) moved :—

That this Congress places on record its resentment that the pledge of the Premier, given to the deputation of the Joint Board on August 1st, 1906, to the effect that he was not prepared to favour any proposal likely to weaken the ordinary workmen's economic position in regard to the employment of ex-soldiers and sailors, has been broken by the institution, for the first time in the history of the British Civil Service, of the practice of employing these men in the telegraph service upon operating work, and paying them wages greatly under the sum received by established telegraphists; and is of opinion that the use of military labour for the express purpose of cheapness, and thereby depressing the standard of wages in the telegraph service, should be discontinued immediately.

He said they found that last year 40 soldiers while serving with the colours were introduced into the telephone offices of the country to do ordinary telephone work, for which they received about 6s. 6d. per week, plus their pay, making altogether 24s. 6d. per week, while the average wage of a London telegraphist was 45s. per week. They wanted Congress to take the matter up because it introduced into the State a very grave principle.

Miss M. SLADE (Postal Telegraph Clerks) seconded, and said that a serious menace was being levelled against their calling. About one-tenth of their members were engaged in the transmission of Press telegrams, and the handing over of this class of work to newspaper people would produce a surplus staff, and by introducing a number of underpaid workers would bring down the wages of the Post Office people.

The resolution was carried.

POSTAL SUB-CONTRACTING AND CIVIL DISABILITIES.

Miss M. SLADE (Postal Clerks) moved :—

That this Congress protests against the action of the postal authorities in deciding to extend the principle of sub-contracting by handing over to newspaper proprietors and news agencies the transmission of news telegrams, and permitting them to supply their own operators and recommending the use of post office pensioners; and that this Congress is of opinion that the State, having acquired the monopoly of the telegraphs by purchase in 1868, should not give undue preference to wealthy newspaper proprietors, etc., but maintain communal ownership and work the system in the interests of the people generally; and, further, this Congress calls for the immediate removal of the present exceptional civil disabilities of Civil servants.

Speaking to the latter part of the resolution, she said it was a serious matter that civil servants were prevented from exercising the same political rights as the rest of

the community; and the operators' work, so far as the transmission of news telegrams was concerned, was being handed over to the large newspaper proprietors.

Mr. G. H. STUART (Postmen's Federation) seconded the resolution, and said if they were going to give the syndicated Press the power to squeeze out their poorer contemporaries, as the present system was doing, the Press in England would soon be as corrupt as the Press of America.

The resolution was carried.

HOBHOUSE REPORT CONDEMNED.

Mr. J. W. CLARKE (Scientific Instrument Makers) formally moved:—

That this Congress expresses its strong condemnation of the recommendations of the Hobhouse Committee, inasmuch that it advocates an extension of hours from 48 to 50½ in some branches, and further recommends that all future entrants as skilled mechanics are to be debarred from sick and holiday pay and medical attendance; and that we call on this Congress, through the Parliamentary Committee, to depute the Postmaster-General with the object of getting these points reconsidered.

The resolution was formally seconded and carried.

SYMPATHY FOR MR. HORNIDGE.

The PRESIDENT referred to the serious illness of Mr. W. B. Hornidge, who had been a useful servant to the Trade Union movement. He had been compelled to cease work and leave the Parliamentary Committee. They could not part with a man like Mr. Hornidge without expressing their appreciation of his past services, and wishing that he might regain his health. He asked the delegates to hold up their hands in expression of their sympathy.

Congress showed their approval of the sentiments of the President by a show of hands.

THANKS TO THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Mr. F. HALL, M.P. (Miners' Federation), moved a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee. He said he had been to many Congresses, but to none where the arrangements for the comfort and convenience of the delegates had been more complete than in Nottingham.

Mr. EATOUGH (Railway Servants) seconded the motion.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.

Mr. G. THUNDERCLIFFE (Bakers and Confectioners) suitably responded.

THANKS TO THE PRESS.

Mr. J. W. OGDEN (Amalgamated Weavers) moved a vote of thanks to the Press, and complimented the various representatives upon the excellence of the reports of the proceedings of Congress that had been published during the week.

The compliment to the Press was acknowledged by Mr. HARRIS, of the *Nottingham Daily Guardian*, and Mr. BAILEY.

THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

Mr. J. O'GRADY, M.P. (Furnishing Trades), moved a vote of thanks to the President, and congratulated Congress upon having had their deliberations presided over by one who had brought to his duties a fine manly dignity and fearless courage. His conduct in the chair would enable the Nottingham Congress to be recorded as one of the most successful in the history of the movement.

Mr. A. H. GILL, M.P., seconded the vote of thanks, and said the President had been firm when necessary, but throughout the week had displayed the attractive geniality for which he was so famous. The business of the gathering could not possibly have been better managed.

The PRESIDENT, in reply, said he appreciated to the full the high honour that had been conferred upon him by the Parliamentary Committee in selecting him as their Chairman last year, which carried with it the Presidency of that Congress. He thanked the delegates for their cordial appreciation of the efforts that he had put out in their behalf during the week, and for the loyal manner in which his rulings had been obeyed. Not one collision had taken place between himself and the delegates at any of the sittings. Their Congress that year had been a useful one. "We do our best," he concluded, "with the education we have had; and this Congress has taken a lead on education which in the future will mean that brighter and better men will come forward worthily to represent the people to whom they belong."

The proceedings terminated with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne."

IMPORTANT DETAILS OF PAST CONGRESSES.

DATES AND PLACES OF CONGRESSES, PRESIDENTS, SECRETARIES AND CHAIRMEN TO PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE, NUMBER OF DELEGATES PRESENT, NUMBER OF SOCIETIES AND MEMBERS REPRESENTED, AND TOTAL INCOME TO PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT.

No.	DATE.	PLACE OF MEETING.	NAME OF PRESIDENT.	CHAIRMAN OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.	SECRETARY TO PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.	No. OF SOCIETIES DELEGATES PRESENTED.	No. OF SOCIETIES REPRESENTED.	No. OF MEMBERS REPRESENTED.	TOTAL INCOME. £ s. d.
1	1868	Manchester.	W. H. Wood (Manchester Trades Council)	No record	G. HOWELL ..	34	—	118,367	..
2	1869	Birmingham	T. J. WILKINSON	{ of Chairmen of Parliamentary Committee.	do. ..	48	40	250,000	..
3	1871	London	GEO. PORTER (Working Men's Association).	Committee.	do. ..	50	49	289,430	..
4	1872	Nottingham.	W. H. LEATHERLAND (Organised Tr'd's Ass'n)	A. McDONALD	do. ..	77	63	255,710	295 16 6
5	1873	Leeds	W. LISHMAN (Leeds Trades Council)	A. McDONALD	do. ..	132	140	730,074	166 12 10
6	1874	Sheffield	W. ROLLEY (President, Trades Council) ..	A. W. BAILEY	do. ..	169	153	1,191,922	543 18 6
7	1875	Liverpool ..	J. FITZPATRICK (Secretary, Trades Council)	R. KNIGHT	do. ..	151	107	818,032	579 16 4
8	1875	Glasgow	J. BATTERSBY	{ J. KANE	H. BROADHURST	139	109	539,323	616 9 11
9	1876	Newcastle ..	J. C. LAIRD (President, Trades Council) ..	J. D. PRIOR	do. ..	140	113	557,323	651 3 4
10	1877	Leicester ..	D. MERRICK	J. D. PRIOR	do. ..	141	112	691,089	743 0 0
11	1878	Bristol	G. F. JONES (Secretary, Trades Council) ..	J. D. PRIOR	do. ..	136	114	623,957	809 6 0
12	1879	Edinburgh ..	D. GIBSON (President, Trades Council) ..	A. W. BAILEY	do. ..	115	92	541,892	763 3 1
13	1880	Dublin	J. MURPHY	J. D. PRIOR	do. ..	120	105	494,222	823 16 6
14	1881	London	E. COULSON	H. SLATTERY	do. ..	157	122	463,899	711 9 8
15	1882	Manchester ..	R. AUSTIN	W. CRAWFORD	do. ..	153	136	509,307	788 15 7
16	1883	Nottingham ..	T. SMITH	J. BIRTWISTLE	do. ..	163	163	471,651	853 19 7
17	1884	Aberdeen ..	J. C. THOMPSON (President, Trades Council)	J. INGLIS	do. ..	142	126	598,033	837 8 4
18	1885	Southport ..	T. E. TRELFALL	A. W. BAILEY	do. ..	141	136	580,976	848 17 9
19	1886	Hull	F. MADDISON	J. S. MURCHIE	GEO. SHIPTON ..	143	132	633,088	770 17 4
20	1887	Swansea	W. BEVAN	J. MAWDSLEY	do. ..	156	131	674,034	703 16 5
21	1888	Bradford	S. SHAFTOE	J. M. JACK	H. BROADHURST	165	138	816,944	825 8 6
22	1889	Dundee	G. SHIPTON (Chairman, Parliamentary Com.)	G. SHIPTON	do. ..	211	171	885,055	908 5 3
23	1890	Liverpool ..	W. MATKIN	J. SWIFT	do. ..	457	311	1,470,191	1,166 8 9
24	1891	Newcastle ..	T. BURT	E. HARNFORD	C. FENWICK ..	552	177	1,302,855	1,489 14 10
25	1892	Glasgow	J. HODGE	JOHN WILSON	do. ..	495	418	1,219,834	1,118 6 1
26	1893	Belfast	S. MONRO	J. HAVELOCK WILSON	do. ..	380	—	900,000	1,177 2 9
27	1894	Norwich	F. DELVES	D. HOLMES	S. WOODS	378	179	1,100,000	1,444 16 0

28	1895	Cardiff	J. JENKINS	E. COWEY	do.	330	170	1,000,000	1,473 18 4
29	1896	Edinburgh ..	J. MALLINSON	W. THORNE	do.	343	178	1,076,000	1,572 5 10
30	1897	Birmingham ..	J. V. STEVENS	A. WILKIE	do.	381	180	1,093,191	1,496 18 1
31	1898	Bristol	J. O'GRADY	W. J. DAVIS	do.	406	188	1,184,241	1,928 16 6
32	1899	Plymouth ..	W. J. VERNON	F. CHANDLER	do.	384	181	1,200,000	2,060 17 2
33	1900	Huddersfield ..	W. PICKLES	C. W. BOWERMAN ..	do.	386	184	1,250,000	1,570 19 7
34	1901	Swansea	C. W. BOWERMAN (Chairman, Par. Com.) ..	C. W. BOWERMAN ..	do.	407	191	1,200,000	1,947 2 2
35	1902	London	W. C. STEADMAN (Chairman, Par. Com.) ..	W. C. STEADMAN ..	do.	485	198	1,400,000	2,010 19 1
36	1903	Leicester ..	W. B. HORNDGE (Chairman, Par. Com.) ..	W. B. HORNDGE ..	do.	460	204	1,500,000	2,716 5 0
37	1904	Leeds	R. BELL (Chairman, Parliamentary Com.) ..	R. BELL	do.	453	212	1,422,518	2,691 14 11
38	1905	Hanley	J. SEXTON (Chairman, Parliamentary Com.) ..	J. SEXTON	do.	458	218	1,501,000	2,813 16 0
39	1906	Liverpool ..	D. C. CUMMINGS (Chairman, Par. Com.) ..	D. C. CUMMINGS ..	do.	491	226	1,555,000	3,034 12 10
40	1907	Bath	A. H. GILL (Chairman, Parliamentary Com.) ..	A. H. GILL	do.	521	236	1,700,000	3,298 8 4
41	1908	Nottingham ..	D. J. SHACKLETON (Chairman, Par. Com.) ..	D. J. SHACKLETON ..	do.	522	214	1,777,000	3,379 8 1

NOTE.—From 1868 to 1894 inclusive the numbers set out in the 9th column were duplicated by the inclusion of Trades Councils.

TRADES UNION CONGRESS STANDING ORDERS.

1. The annual meetings of the Congress shall be held in September.

2. On the first day Congress shall assemble at 12 o'clock noon prompt; on each succeeding day at 9-30 a.m., adjourn at 1 p.m., reassemble at 2 p.m., and adjourn for the day at 5 p.m.

DELEGATES' QUALIFICATION.

3. (1) The Congress shall consist of delegates who are or have been *bonâ-fide* workers at the trade which they represent, and are legal members of trade societies; but no person can be a delegate to the Trades Union Congress unless he is actually working at his trade at the time of appointment, or is a permanent paid working official of his Trade Union. (2) No representative shall be accepted as *bonâ-fide* other than direct representation from Trade Unions. (3) The delegate's name, together with the amount of his society's contribution, shall be forwarded to the secretary of the Parliamentary Committee fourteen days prior to the meeting of Congress.

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

4. Trade societies, by whatever name they may be known, shall be entitled to one delegate for every 2,000 members or fraction thereof; provided always that they have paid £1 10s. for every 1,000 or fraction thereof of the full numerical strength of the society, probationary, free, or otherwise, towards the expenses of the Parliamentary Committee for the past year, and 10s. for each delegate attending the Congress, and forward their names and addresses fourteen days prior to the date fixed for the meeting of the Congress. No credential card shall be issued to any society not having complied with the foregoing conditions.

In the event of a legal point arising, which in the opinion of the Parliamentary Committee (after consultation with counsel) should be tested by law in the general interest of Trade Unionism, they be empowered to request the organised societies to provide *pro rata* the expenses necessary to test it through to the highest Court of Appeal. Any

society failing to comply be reported to Congress.

5. The chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for the past year shall be president of the Congress, and the vice-chairman the vice-president. The chairman shall deliver the opening address, which shall not exceed thirty minutes, and the secretary and treasurer of the Parliamentary Committee shall be the secretary and treasurer of the Congress.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

6. Special committees shall be formed to deal with questions affecting the different industries, and where the resolutions are of a technical character they shall be remitted to committees composed of representatives from the societies whose members are engaged in the industry to which the resolution refers, who shall fully consider the same and report to Congress.

TELLERS.

7. *Six* persons shall be appointed as tellers, whose ruling as to numbers shall be final, except in cases of dispute, when the chairman shall order a recount.

VOTING.

8. (1) The method of voting shall be by card, to be issued to the delegates of trade societies according to their membership, and paid for (as per Standing Order No. 4) on the principle of one card for every 1,000 members or fractional part thereof represented. (2) Such cards to be issued to delegates by the secretary to the Parliamentary Committee before the meeting of Congress.

[It will only be necessary to resort to this method of voting in divisions that may be challenged by delegates to Congress.]

QUALIFICATION FOR PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

9. No candidate shall be eligible for election on the Parliamentary Committee unless he is a delegate (as per Standing Order No. 3), and the society so represented must have contributed towards

the payment of the expenses of that committee, in accordance with Standing Order No. 4, during the year previous to his election. In no case shall two members of one trade be elected on the Parliamentary Committee; such condition not to apply to the election of secretary.

That no candidate shall be eligible for election on the Parliamentary Committee who has privately assisted, during the year preceding Congress, in the production of anything which is produced by non-union labour, or is produced at such firms as may be declared unfair by the interested trade society, or who has continued to assist privately in the production of anything which is produced by non-union labour, or is produced at such firms as may be declared unfair by the interested trade society, after such matters have been pointed out to him.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

10. A Parliamentary Committee of sixteen shall be elected by ballot on the last day but one of each Congress, who shall continue in office until they are re-elected, or their successors appointed. They shall elect from among themselves a president, vice-president, and treasurer for the ensuing year.

For purposes of election the whole of the unions sending delegates shall be grouped as follow:—

- Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.
- Building Trades.
- Cotton Operatives.
- Dock Labourers, Stevedores, Crane-men, Enginemen, etc.
- Engineers.
- Gasworkers and General Labourers.
- Metalworkers.
- Miners.
- Printing and Paper Trades.
- Railway Servants.
- Weavers.
- Miscellaneous Trades.

The voting shall be by a ballot of the whole Congress. No limit shall be placed on the number of candidates of any group. The candidate receiving the highest number of votes of each group shall be declared elected, except in the miscellaneous group, which is provided for in the following paragraph.

Miscellaneous trades will include all societies not included in the scheduled trades, and subject to Standing Order No. 9; that no trade shall have more than one representative; the five candidates who receive the highest number of votes shall be declared elected.

The schedule is based on representation of 1905, but in event of any great reduction of the number represented of any of the scheduled groups, the Committee of Standing Orders would be empowered to remove the group from special representation and add the additional representative to the Miscellaneous Trades.

The group to which each candidate belongs to be printed on ballot paper.

Canvassing and bartering of votes for any position or purpose shall be strictly forbidden, and any candidate on whose behalf such means are employed shall be held responsible, and upon it being proved to the satisfaction of the Standing Orders Committee, he shall be disqualified for election and his society debarred from representation on the Parliamentary Committee or any other position for three years, and that this be printed at the foot of all ballot papers issued.

In the event of the death or resignation of any member of the Parliamentary Committee, the candidate who secured the next highest number of votes to the successful candidate in the same group shall be co-opted on the Committee. Failing any defeated candidate in the group the candidate receiving next highest number of votes in miscellaneous trades shall be co-opted providing his trade is not already represented.

METHOD OF VOTING.

The ballot paper to be filled up and then immediately placed in the box without inspection by the delegates other than those of the society voting. Any delegate or delegates found guilty of violating this Standing Order shall at once be reported to Congress, named by the chairman, and expelled. Such delegate or delegates shall not be eligible to attend Congress again for three years.

DUTIES OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

11. In all Parliamentary constituencies where any Labour candidates are seeking election to the House of Commons, the Parliamentary Committee to endorse and support such candidates, providing any of the following conditions are observed by the candidates: (1) That such candidates are in favour of the reforms that may be advocated by the Trades Union Congress. (2) That their candidature is endorsed by a *bonâ-fide* Trade Union, or the General Federation of Trade Unions, or the Labour Representation Committee.

PROGRAMME OF BUSINESS.

12. Resolutions for the programme must be signed by the secretary and chairman of the society sending them, and must reach the secretary of the Parliamentary Committee at least twelve weeks before the time fixed for the meeting of Congress. Such resolutions shall be printed and sent to official correspondents of recognised Trade Unions not less than eight weeks before the meeting of Congress. The order in which these subjects are to be discussed shall be decided by ballot conducted by the Parliamentary Committee. No Trade Union shall be allowed more than three resolutions.

But in order that important Labour questions may not be omitted from the discussions at Congress, the Parliamentary Committee are empowered to place not more than three resolutions on the Congress Agenda.

The programme compiled by the Parliamentary Committee should be taken as the first business of the Congress.

All amendments to the propositions submitted by the various trades must reach the secretary of the Parliamentary Committee four weeks before the opening of the Congress, such amendments to be signed by the president and secretary, and also bear the stamp of the society; and such amendments to the propositions shall be printed and sent, not less than 14 days before the meeting of the Congress, to the official correspondents of the Trade

Unions who have sent delegates' fees in accordance with Standing Order No. 3.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

13. (1) The Congress having been duly opened, the Parliamentary Committee shall present their report for the past year, which shall be laid on the table for discussion. The report shall be discussed *en seriatim*, and not as a whole. Each speaker to be limited to five minutes. The report shall contain a list of the Parliamentary Committee meetings, with dates, also the names of those members who were present at such meetings. (2) That the Standing Orders of Congress and Parliamentary Committee shall be published with each Annual Report of proceedings of Congress.

SECRETARY EX-OFFICIO MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

14. The secretary shall be *elected by Congress, and be ex-officio* a member of the Congress and the Parliamentary Committee. Should a vacancy occur between the annual meetings of the Congress, the Parliamentary Committee shall have power to fill up the vacancy. He shall devote his whole time to the work (but this does not prevent the Secretary being either a candidate for or a member of Parliament) and shall remain in office so long as his work and conduct give satisfaction to the Parliamentary Committee and the representatives attending Congress.

No future candidate for the office of Secretary shall be eligible unless he is prepared to sign the constitution of the Labour Party in the event of his becoming a candidate for a seat in Parliament.

NOMINATION OF SECRETARY AND PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

15. (1) That all nominations for the offices of secretary and Parliamentary Committee shall be sent in to the secretary not less than twelve weeks prior to the meeting of Congress, and the list of names be published on the agenda paper containing resolutions that are to come up for discussion at Congress. (2) That individual ballot papers

containing the names of each candidate shall be supplied to delegates on the day of election (such ballot papers to be perforated).

LIMITATION OF SPEECHES.

16. (1) The mover of a resolution shall be allowed ten minutes, the seconder seven, and any or each succeeding speaker five minutes. No one shall speak more than once on a question, except the mover of the original resolution. (2) All amendments to resolutions must be taken in the order in which they are printed. (3) Should the president of the Congress be of opinion that there is no practical difference among the delegates, he shall have power to stop the discussion.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONGRESS.

17. The Parliamentary Committee shall assist and co-operate with the local committee of the town where the next Congress is to be held, for the purpose of making the arrangements as complete as possible, and shall have power to invite the following persons to attend the sittings of the Congress (subject to the approval of Congress), viz., deputations; the Labour members; the members of the city or borough; likewise the mayor or provost, and members of the Corporation of the town in which the Congress is held.

The Parliamentary Committee shall meet prior to the date of each Congress for the purpose of attending to these matters.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR.

18. In order that affiliated societies may have an opportunity of perusing the financial statements prior to Congress assembling, the financial year shall close on July 31st. The audit shall then take place, and printed balance sheets, duly certified by the auditors, sent to the official correspondents of the trades not less than 14 days before the meeting of Congress.

All surplus moneys, after payment of the expenses of the Congress, shall be used for the general purposes of the Parliamentary Committee.

AUDITORS.

19. Two auditors shall be elected, who shall have access to all the papers and documents relating to the income and expenditure of the Parliamentary Committee.

DEALING WITH DISPUTES.

20. Any society engaged in a dispute and considering themselves aggrieved by reason of the members of another society assisting to defeat those on strike, may report the circumstances to the Parliamentary Committee, who may then take such steps as the circumstances may warrant, and should the charge be proved the offending society shall be charged with all costs.

Should any society make a charge against another society, and after due investigation fail to prove the same, it shall bear the whole cost of the investigation, including the expenses incurred by the defendant society; and if in the opinion of the Parliamentary Committee the charge be a false one, wilfully and knowingly made, the society shall, in addition to bearing the expense, be liable to a fine not exceeding £20.

Should any society make a charge against another society, and the society against whom the charge is made refuses to have the same investigated, such society shall be deemed guilty, and be reported to Congress.

Any society refusing to pay the expenses of inquiry or fine as laid down by this Standing Order shall be reported to Congress.

AMENDMENT OF STANDING ORDERS.

21. Should any amendment of the Standing Orders of the Congress be proposed by any society, such amendment must be forwarded to the Parliamentary Committee at least twelve weeks before the meeting of Congress, and in no case shall the standing orders be suspended unless agreed to by a two-thirds vote of Congress.

DELEGATES LEAVING CONGRESS.

22. No delegate shall leave Congress without the consent of the vice-president; and delegates absent one

whole sitting without leave of absence shall be named by the chairman.

less than twelve weeks prior to the meeting of Congress.

FOREIGN DELEGATION.

23. In the event of Congress deciding upon any foreign, American, or Annual Co-operative Congress or other delegation, nominations for such delegation to be sent in to the secretary not

SECRETARY'S SALARY.

24. The secretary's salary shall be £300 per annum, free of income tax; and over and above this allowance the Parliamentary Committee shall provide reasonable remuneration on a Trade Union basis for his clerical assistant or assistants.

OFFICIAL SALARIES AND OTHER PAYMENTS.

Parliamentary Committee (resident out of London), 12s. 6d. per day and travelling expenses.

Parliamentary Committee (resident in London), 10s. per day and travelling expenses.

General Purposes Committee	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£2	0	0	each.
„	„	„	Secretary	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0	„
Auditors	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	„
Doorkeepers and Messengers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0	„
Tellers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	„
Scrutineers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0	„
Treasurer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	0	0	„

Signed on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee,

W. C. STEADMAN, SECRETARY.

EFFINGHAM HOUSE,
ARUNDEL STREET, STRAND,
LONDON, S.W.

September, 1908.

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and at Manchester and Newcastle.

It is a guarantee that **ONLY Trade Unionists** have executed same.

Felt Hatters' and Trimmers' Unions.



What do you think?

Do you think we advertise for **fun**, or just to get rid of our surplus cash? If so, you are mistaken. We advertise to propagate a great Principle! We want a **Fair Day's Pay** for a **Fair Day's Work**, and we want it for **everybody**. You, the consuming public, are our **real** employers. The Retailer, Merchant, and Manufacturer are only **your mediums**—a means to the end. We really work for **you**. You expect Fair Wages; we want you to **pay** Fair Wages. We want you to wear a **Smart Felt Hat—a Stylish Up-to-date Felt Hat**—one made by **skilled Trade Union workpeople**, and so prove your union principles.

You may do **all this**, and live up to your own principles and desires, if you will **insist at all times that the Trade Union Label is under the leather when purchasing a hat.**

The UNION LABEL, as above, is printed in Black Ink on Pink Paper, and is placed under the leather in **UNION MADE FELT HATS** by the **WORKPEOPLE ONLY**, during Manufacture.

Look for the Label and Beware of Counterfeits!

This is where the Label
Should be found

Support
Honest
Trade

Buy no
Felt Hat
without it



THOMAS MALLALIEU, General Secretary,
113, MANCHESTER ROAD, DENTON.

The Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited

is a purely collective institution, being the federation of practically all the retail co-operative societies in England and Wales. It has no private shareholders, and it exists only to supply the demands of the retail societies, under their democratic control.

The C.W.S. produces Clothing, Shirts, Overalls, Mantles and Capes, Skirts, Blouses, Corsets, Underclothing, Children's Millinery, Hosiery, Boots and Shoes of all kinds, Flannels, Cotton Cloths, etc., Furniture, Bedding, Brushes, Soaps, Candles, Starch, Flour, Lard, Bacon, Butter, Biscuits and Cakes, Sweets, Drugs and Sundries, Preserves, Pickles, Tobaccos, Cigars and Cigarettes, Printing, Lithography and Bookbinding, and (with the Scottish C.W.S.) Tea, Coffee, Cocoa and Chocolate.

It deals in practically every commodity, except intoxicants; It has its own Bank, Steamship Service between England and the Continent, Foreign Factories, Depots and Agencies, Fruit Farms, Creameries in Ireland, and Tea Estates in Ceylon.

With a turnover of Twenty-four Millions a year the C.W.S. maintains Trade Union conditions of Labour, pays Fair Wages to over 17,000 workers, and aims at steadying employment;

AND IT ASKS YOU TO

**JOIN THE LOCAL STORES AND GIVE THE WHOLESALE
YOUR PRACTICAL SUPPORT.**